

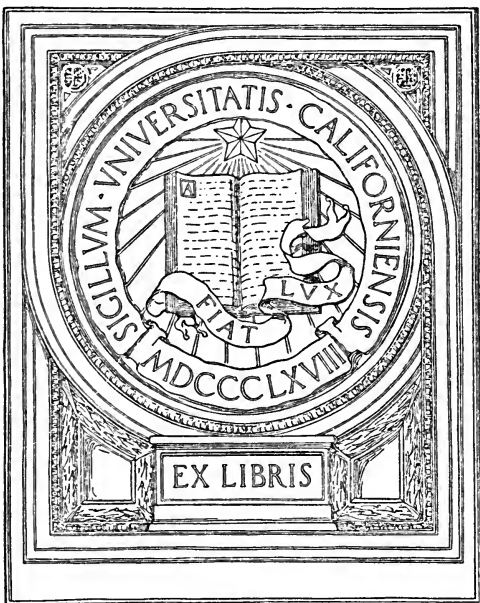
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COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
DAVIS, CALIFORNIA





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HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NATION



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CONTENTS.

VOLUME VIII

OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

	Page
The Government of Cities.....	2237
Working of City Governments.....	2242

PARTY POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Political Parties and History.....	2251
Nominating Conventions	2260
How Public Opinion Rules.....	2265

BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

Introduction	2271
I. George Washington	2273
II. Benjamin Franklin	2288
III. Thomas Jefferson	2303
IV. Alexander Hamilton	2318
V. John Jay	2335
VI. John Adams	2349
VII. George Clinton	2364
VIII. Samuel Adams	2377

	Page
IX. Philip Livingston	2393
X. Roger Sherman	2403
XI. Philip John Schuyler	2416
XII. James Madison	2430
XIII. Patrick Henry	2444
XIV. Henry Knox	2459
XV. Abraham Lincoln	2475

OFFICIAL STORY OF THE AMERICAN OPERA-
TIONS IN THE WORLD WAR

From General John J. Pershing's Report to Secretary

of War2491-2543

OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER X

THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES

The growth of great cities has been among the most significant and least fortunate changes in the character of the population of the United States during the century and more that has passed since 1787. The ratio of persons living in cities exceeding 8,000 inhabitants to the total population was, in 1790, 3.35 per cent., in 1840, 8.52, in 1880, 22.57, and in 1890, 29.12. And this change has gone on with accelerated speed notwithstanding the enormous extension of settlement over the vast regions of the West. Needless to say that a still larger and increasing proportion of the wealth of the country is gathered into the larger cities. Their government is therefore a matter of high concern to America.

We find in all the larger cities:—

A mayor, head of the executive, and elected directly by the voters within the city.

Certain executive officers or boards, some directly elected by the city voters, others nominated by the mayor or chosen by the city legislature.

A legislature consisting usually of two, but sometimes of one chamber, directly elected by the city voters.

Judges, usually elected by the city voters, but sometimes appointed by the State.

What is this but the frame of a State government applied to the smaller area of a city? The mayor

corresponds to the governor, the officers or boards to the various State officials and boards elected, in most cases, by the people; the aldermen and common council (as they are generally called) to the State Senate and House or Assembly; the city elective judiciary to the State elective judiciary.

The mayor is by far the most conspicuous figure in city governments. He holds office, sometimes for one year, but now more frequently for two, three, or even five years. In some cities he is not reeligible. He is directly elected by the people of the whole city, and is usually not a member of the city legislature. He has, almost everywhere, a veto on all ordinances passed by that legislature, which, however, can be overridden by a two-thirds majority. In many cities he appoints some among the heads of departments and administrative boards, though usually the approval of the legislature or of one branch of it is required. Quite recently some city charters have gone so far as to make him generally responsible for all the departments, though limiting his initiative by the right of the legislature to give or withhold supplies, and making him liable to impeachment for misfeasance. He receives a considerable salary, varying with the size of the city, but sometimes reaching \$10,000, the same salary as that allotted to the justices of the Supreme Federal Court. It rests with him, as the chief executive officer, to provide for the public peace, to quell riots, and, if necessary, to call out the militia. He often exerts a pretty wide discretion as to the enforcement of the law; he may, for instance, put in force Sunday Closing Acts or regulations, or omit to do so.

The practical work of administration is carried on by a number of departments, sometimes under one head, sometimes constituted as boards or commissions. The most important of these are directly

elected by the people, for a term of one, two, three, or four years. Some, however, are chosen by the city legislature, some by the mayor with the approval of the legislature or its upper chamber. In most cities the chief executive officers have been disconnected from one another, owing no common allegiance, except that which their financial dependence on the city legislature involves, and communicating less with the city legislature as a whole than with its committees, each charged with some one branch of administration, and each apt to job it.

Education has been generally treated as a distinct matter, with which neither the mayor nor the municipal legislature has been suffered to meddle. It is committed to a Board of Education, whose members are separately elected by the people or appointed by the mayor, and who levy (though they do not themselves collect) a separate tax, and have an executive staff of their own at their disposal.

The city legislature usually consists in small cities of one chamber, in large cities of two, the upper of which generally bears the name of the Board of Aldermen, the lower that of the Common Council. All are elected by the citizens, generally in wards, but the upper house occasionally by districts or on what is called a "general ticket," i.e., a vote over the whole city. Usually the common council is elected for one year, or at most for two years, the upper chamber frequently for a longer period. Both are usually unpaid in the smaller cities, sometimes paid in the larger. All city legislation, that is to say, ordinances, by-laws, and votes of money from the city treasury, are passed by the council or councils, subject in many cases to the mayor's veto. Except in a few cities governed by very recent charters, the councils have some control over at least the minor officials. Such control is exercised by committees, a

method borrowed from the State and national legislatures, and suggested by the same reasons of convenience which have established it there, but proved by experience to have the evils of secrecy and irresponsibility as well as that of disconnecting the departments from one another.

The city judges are only in so far a part of the municipal government that in most of the larger cities they are elected by the citizens, like the other chief officers. There are usually several superior judges, chosen for terms of five years and upwards, and a larger number of police judges or justices, generally for shorter terms. Occasionally, however, the State has prudently reserved to itself the appointment of judges.

The election of city officers is usually made to coincide with that of State officers, perhaps also of Federal congressmen. This saves expense and trouble. But as it not only bewilders the voter in his choice of men by distracting his attention between a large number of candidates and places, but also confirms the tendency, already strong, to vote for city officers on party lines, there has of late years been a movement in some cities to have the municipal elections fixed for a different date from that of State or Federal elections, so that the undistracted and non-partisan thought of the citizens may be given to the former. When parties put forward questionable men, a non-partisan list, or so-called "citizens' ticket," may be run by a combination of respectable men of all parties. Sometimes this attempt succeeds.

The functions of city governments may be distributed into three groups—(a) those which are delegated by the State out of its general coercive and administrative powers, including the police power, the granting of licenses, the execution of laws relating to adulteration and explosives; (b) those which

though done under general laws are properly matters of local charge and subject to local regulation, such as education and the care of the poor; and (c) those which are not so much of a political as of a purely business order, such as the paving and cleansing of streets, the maintenance of proper drains, the provision of water and light. In respect of the first, and to some extent of the second of these groups, the city may be properly deemed a political entity; in respect of the third it is rather to be compared to a business corporation or company, in which the taxpayers are shareholders, doing, through the agency of the city officers, things which each might do for himself, though with more cost and trouble. All three sets of functions are dealt with by American legislation in the same way, and are alike given to officials and a legislature elected by persons of whom a large part pay no direct taxes. Education, however, is usually detached from the general city government and entrusted to a separate authority, while in some cities the control of the police has been withheld or withdrawn from that government, and entrusted to the hands of a separate board.

Taxes in cities, as in rural districts, are levied upon personal as well as real property; and the city tax is collected along with the county tax and State tax by the same collectors. There are, of course, endless varieties in the practice of different States and cities as to methods of assessments and to the minor imposts subsidiary to the property tax. Both real and personal property are usually assessed far below their true value, the latter because owners are reticent, the former because the city assessors are anxious to take as little as possible of the State and county burden on the shoulders of their own community, though in this patriotic effort they are checked by the county and State Boards of Equalization. Taxes are usu-

ally so much higher in the larger cities than in the country districts or smaller municipalities, that there is a strong tendency for rich men to migrate from the city to its suburbs in order to escape the city collector. Perhaps the city overtakes them, extending its limits and incorporating its suburbs; perhaps they fly farther afield by the railway and make the prosperity of country towns twenty or thirty miles away. The unfortunate consequence follows, not only that the taxes are heavier for those who remain in the city, but that the philanthropic and political work of the city loses the participation of those who ought to have shared in it. For a man votes in one place only, the place where he resides, and is taxed on his personalty, although he is taxed on his real property wherever it is situated, perhaps in half a dozen cities or counties. And where he has no vote, he is neither eligible for local office nor deemed entitled to take a part in local political agitation.

CHAPTER XI

THE WORKING OF CITY GOVERNMENTS

Two tests of practical efficiency may be applied to the government of a city: What does it provide for the people, and what does it cost the people? In the United States generally constant complaints are directed against the bad paving and cleansing of the streets, the non-enforcement of the laws forbidding gambling and illicit drinking, and in some places against the sanitary arrangements and management of public buildings and parks. This is all that can be said here in regard to the first test.

The other test, that of expense, is easily applied. Both the debt and the taxation of American cities have risen with unprecedented rapidity, and now stand at an alarming figure.

There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States. The deficiencies of the national government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the State governments are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which mark the administrations of most of the great cities. There is not a city with a population exceeding 200,000 where the poison germs have not sprung into a vigorous life; and in some of the smaller ones, down to 70,000, it needs no microscope to note the results of their growth. Even in cities of the third rank similar phenomena may occasionally be discerned.

For evils which appear wherever a large population is densely aggregated, there must be some general and widespread causes. What are these causes? I must restrict myself to a brief enumeration of the chief sources of the malady, and the chief remedies that have been suggested for or applied to it.

The following have been suggested* as the causes:

1. Incompetent and unfaithful governing boards and officers.
2. The introduction of State and national politics into municipal affairs.
3. The assumption by the legislature of the direct control of local affairs.

Besides these three causes there are what may be called mechanical defects in the structure of municipal governments. There is a want of methods for fixing public responsibility on the governing persons and bodies. If the mayor jobs his patronage he can throw large part of the blame on the aldermen or other confirming council, alleging that he would have selected better men could he have hoped that the aldermen would approve his selection. If he has failed

*By the New York commissioners of 1876, appointed "to devise a plan for the government of cities in the State of New York."

to keep the departments up to their work, he may argue that the city legislature hampered him and would not pass the requisite ordinances. Each house of a two-chambered legislature can excuse itself by pointing to the action of the other, or of its own committees, and among the numerous members of the chambers—or even of one chamber if there be but one—responsibility is so much divided as to cease to come forcibly home to any one. The various boards and officials have generally had little intercommunication; and the fact that some were directly elected by the people made these feel themselves independent both of the mayor and the city legislature. The mere multiplication of elective posts distracted the attention of the people, and deprived the voting at the polls of its efficiency as a means of reproof or commendation.

The following remedies have been proposed:—*

(a) A restriction of the power of the State legislature to interfere by special legislation with municipal governments or the conduct of municipal affairs.

(b) The holding of municipal elections at a different period of the year from State and national elections.

(c) The vesting of the legislative powers of municipalities in two bodies:—A board of aldermen, elected by the ordinary (manhood) suffrage, to be the common council of each city. A board of finance of from six to fifteen members, elected by voters who had for two years paid an annual tax on property assessed at not less than \$500, or a rent (for premises occupied) of not less than \$250. This board of finance was to have a practically exclusive control of the taxation and expenditure of each city, and of the exercise of its borrowing powers, and was in some matters to act only by a two-thirds majority.

*By the before-mentioned commissioners.

(d) Limitations on the borrowing powers of the municipality, the concurrence of the mayor and two thirds of the State legislature, as well as of two-thirds of the board of finance being required for any loan except in anticipation of current revenue.

(e) An extension of the general control and appointing power of the mayor, the mayor being himself subject to removal for cause by the governor of the State.

[Through the new Constitution of the State of New York, adopted in 1894, some changes have been secured in the direction of remedies above specified.]

Among the other reforms in city government which I find canvassed in America are the following:

(a) Civil service reform, i.e., the establishment of examinations as a test for admission to posts under the city, and the bestowal of these posts for a fixed term of years, or generally during good behavior, instead of leaving the civil servant at the mercy of a partisan chief, who may displace him to make room for a party adherent or personal friend.

(b) The lengthening of the terms of service of the mayor and heads of departments, so as to give them a more assured position and diminish the frequency of elections.—This has been done to some extent in recent charters.

(c) The vesting of almost autocratic executive power in the mayor and restriction of the city legislature to purely legislative work and the voting of supplies. This also finds place in recent charters, and has worked, on the whole, well. It is, of course, a remedy of the "cure or kill" order. If the people are thoroughly roused to choose an able and honest man, the more power he has the better; it is safer in his hands than in those of city councils. If the voters are apathetic and let a bad man slip in, all may be lost till the next election. I do not say "all is

lost," for there have been remarkable instances of men who have been sobered and elevated by power and responsibility.

(d) The election of a city legislature, or one branch of it, or of a school committee, on a general ticket instead of by wards.—When aldermen or councilmen are chosen by the voters of a small local area, it is assumed, in the United States, that they must be residents within it; thus the field of choice among good citizens generally is limited. It follows also that their first duty is deemed to be to get the most they can for their own ward; they care little for the general interests of the city, and carry on a game of barter in contracts and public improvements with the representatives of other wards. Hence the general ticket system is preferable.

(e) The limitation of taxing powers and borrowing powers by reference to the assessed value of the taxable property within the city.—Restrictions of this nature have been largely applied to cities as well as to counties and other local authorities. The results have been usually good, yet not uniformly so, for evasions may be practiced. Such restrictions are now often found embodied in State Constitutions, and have, so far as I could ascertain, generally diminished the evil they are aimed at.

The results of these various experiments and of others are now being watched with eager curiosity by the municipal reformers of the United States. The question of city government is that which chiefly occupies practical publicists, and which newspapers and magazines incessantly discuss, because it is admittedly the weak point of the country. That adaptability of the institutions to the people and their conditions, which judicious strangers admire in the United States, and that consequent satisfaction of the people with their institutions, which contrasts so

agreeably with the discontent of European nations, is wholly absent as regards municipal administration. Wherever there is a large city there are loud complaints, and Americans who deem themselves in other respects a model for the Old World are in this respect anxious to study Old World models, those particularly which the cities of Great Britain present.

But the newer frames of government are an improvement upon the older. Good citizens are more active. Party spirit is less permitted to dominate and prevert municipal politics,



**PARTY POLITICS AND PUBLIC
OPINION**



PARTY POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR HISTORY

In the United States, the history of party begins with the Constitutional Convention of 1787 at Philadelphia. In its debates and discussions on the drafting of the Constitution there were revealed two opposite tendencies, which soon afterward appeared on a larger scale in the State conventions, to which the new instrument was submitted for acceptance. There were the centrifugal and centripetal tendencies—a tendency to maintain both the freedom of the individual citizen and the independence in legislation, in administration, in jurisdiction, indeed in everything except foreign policy and national defense, of the several States; an opposite tendency to subordinate the States to the nation and vest large powers in the central Federal authority.

The advocates of central national authority, led by Hamilton, had begun to receive the name of Federalists, and to act pretty constantly together, when an event happened which, while it tightened their union, finally consolidated their opponents also into a party. This was the creation of the French Republic and its declaration of war against England. The Federalists, who were shocked by the excesses of the Terror of 1793, counseled neutrality, and were more than ever inclined to value the principle of authority, and to allow the Federal power a wide sphere of action.

The party of Jefferson, who had now retired from the administration, was pervaded by sympathy with French ideas, was hostile to England, whose attitude continued to be discourteous, and sought to restrict the interference of the central government with the States, and to allow the fullest play to the sentiment of State independence, of local independence, of personal independence. This party took the name of Republicans or Democratic Republicans, and they are the predecessors of the present Democrats. Both parties were, of course, attached to republican government—that is to say, were alike hostile to a monarchy. But the Jeffersonians had more faith in the masses and in leaving things alone, together with less respect for authority, so that in a sort of general way one may say that while one party claimed to be the apostles of Liberty, the other represented the principle of Order.

These tendencies found occasions for combating one another, not only in foreign policy and in current legislation, but also in the construction and application of the Constitution. Like all documents, and especially documents which have been formed by a series of compromises between opposite views, it was and is susceptible of various interpretations, which the acuteness of both sets of partisans was busy in discovering and expounding. While the piercing intellect of Hamilton developed all those of its provisions which invested the Federal Congress and President with far-reaching powers, and sought to build up a system of institutions which should give to these provisions their full effect, Jefferson and his coadjutors appealed to the sentiment of individualism, strong in the masses of the people, and without venturing to propose alterations in the text of the Constitution, protested against all extensions of its letter, and against all the assumptions of Federal au-

thority which such extensions could be made to justify. Thus two parties grew up with tenets, leaders, impulses, sympathies, and hatreds,—hatreds which soon became so bitter as not to spare the noble and dignified figure of Washington himself.

At first the Federalists had the best of it, for the reaction against the weakness of the old Confederation which the Union had superseded disposed sensible men to tolerate a strong central power. The President, though not a member of either party, was, by force of circumstances, as well as owing to the influence of Hamilton, practically with the Federalists. But during the presidency of John Adams, who succeeded Washington, they committed grave errors. When the presidential election of 1800 arrived, it was seen that the logical and oratorical force of Hamilton's appeals to the reason of the nation told far less than the skill and energy with which Jefferson played on their feelings and prejudices. The Republicans triumphed in the choice of their chief, who retained power for eight years to be peaceably succeeded by his friend Madison for another eight years, and his disciple Monroe for eight years more. Their long-continued tenure of office was due not so much to their own merits, for neither Jefferson nor Madison conducted foreign affairs with success, as to the collapse of their antagonists. The Federalists never recovered from the blow given in the election of 1800. They lost Hamilton by death in 1803. No other leader of equal gifts appeared, and the party, which had shown little judgment in the critical years 1810-'14, finally disappears from sight after the second peace with England in 1815.

This period (1788-1824) may be said to constitute the first act in the drama of American party history. The people, accustomed hitherto to care only for their several commonwealths, learn to value and to

work their new national institutions. They become familiar with the Constitution itself, as partners get to know, when disputes arise among them, the provisions of the partnership deed under which their business has to be carried on. It is found that the existence of a central Federal power does not annihilate the States, so the apprehensions on that score are allayed. It is also discovered that there are unforeseen directions, such for instance as banking and currency, through which the Federal power can strengthen its hold on the nation. Differences of view and feeling give rise to parties, yet parties are formed by no means solely on the basis of general principles, but owe much to the influence of prominent personalities, of transient issues, of local interests or prejudices.

Although the Federalists were in general the advocates of a loose and liberal constitution of the Constitution, because such a construction opened a wider sphere to Federal power, they were ready, whenever their local interests stood in the way, to resist Congress and the Executive, alleging that the latter were overstepping their jurisdiction. In 1814 several of the New England States, where the opposition to the war then being waged with England was strongest, sent delegates to a convention at Hartford, which, while discussing the best means for putting an end to the war restricting the powers of Congress in commercial legislation, was suspected of meditating a secession of the trading States from the Union. On the other hand, the Republicans did not hesitate to stretch to their utmost, when they were themselves in power, all the authority which the Constitution could be construed to allow to the Executive and the Federal government generally.

The disappearance of the Federal party between 1815 and 1820 left the Republicans masters of the

field. But in the United States if old parties vanish nature produces new ones. Sectional divisions soon arose among the men who joined in electing Monroe in 1820, and under the influence of the personal hostility of Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson (chosen President in 1828), two great parties were again formed (about 1830) which some few years later absorbed the minor groups. One of these two parties carried on, under the name of Democrats, the dogmas and traditions of the Jeffersonian Republicans. It was the defender of States' Rights and of a restrictive construction of the Constitution; it leaned mainly on the South and the farming classes generally, and it was therefore inclined to free trade. The other section, which called itself at first the National Republican, ultimately the Whig party, represented many of the views of the former Federalists, such as their advocacy of a tariff for the protection of manufactures, and of the expenditure of public money on internal improvements. It was willing to increase the army and navy, and like the Federalists found its chief, though by no means its sole, support in the commercial and manufacturing parts of the country, that is to say, in New England and the Middle States. Meantime a new question far more exciting, far more menacing, had arisen. In 1819, when Missouri applied to be admitted into the Union as a State, a sharp contest broke out in Congress as to whether slavery should be permitted within her limits, nearly all the Northern members voting against slavery, nearly all the Southern members for. The struggle might have threatened the stability of the Union but for the compromise adopted next year, which, while admitting slavery in Missouri, forbade it for the future north of lat. $36^{\circ} 30'$. The danger seemed to have passed, but in its very suddenness there had been something terrible. Jefferson, then over seven-

ty, said that it startled him "like a fire-bell in the night." After 1840 things grew more serious, for, whereas up till that time new States had been admitted substantially in pairs, a slave State balancing a free State, it began to be clear that this must shortly cease, since the remaining territory out of which new States would be formed lay north of the line $36^{\circ} 30'$. As every State held two seats in the Senate, the then existing balance in that chamber between slave States and free States would evidently soon be upset by the admission of a large number of the latter. The apprehension of this event, with its probable result of legislation unfriendly to slavery, stimulated the South to the annexation of Texas, and made them increasingly sensitive to the growth, slow as that growth was, of Abolitionist opinions at the North.

The question of the extension of slavery west of the Missouri river had become by 1850 the vital and absorbing question for the people of the United States, and as in that year California, having organized herself without slavery, was knocking at the doors of Congress for admission as a State, it had become an urgent question which evoked the hottest passions, and the victors in which would be victors all along the line. But neither of the two great parties ventured to commit itself either way. The Southern Democrats hesitated to break with those Democrats of the Northern States who sought to restrict slavery. The Whigs of the North, fearing to alienate the South by any decided action against the growing pretensions of the slave-holders, temporized and suggested compromises which practically served the cause of slavery. They did not perceive that in trying to preserve their party they were losing hold of the people, alienating from themselves the men who cared for principle in politics, sinking into a

mere organization without a faith worth fighting for. That this was so presently appeared. The Democratic party had by 1852 passed almost completely under the control of the slave-holders, and was adopting the dogma that Congress enjoyed under the Constitution no power to prohibit slavery in the Territories. This dogma obviously overthrew as unconstitutional the Missouri compromise of 1820. The Whig leaders discredited themselves by Henry Clay's compromise scheme of 1850, which, while admitting California as a free State, appeased the South by the Fugitive Slave Law. They received a crushing defeat at the presidential election of 1852; and what remained of their party finally broke in pieces in 1854 over the bill for organizing Kansas as a Territory in which the question of slaves or no slaves should be left to the people, a bill which of course repealed the Missouri compromise. Singularly enough, the two great orators of the party, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, both died in 1852, wearied with strife and disappointed in their ambition of reaching the presidential chair. Together with Calhoun, who passed away two years earlier, they are the ornaments of this generation, not indeed rising to the stature of Washington or Hamilton, but more remarkable than any, save one, among the statesmen who have followed them. With them ends the second period in the annals of American parties, which, extending from about 1820 to 1856, includes the rise and fall of the Whig party. Most of the controversies which filled it have become matter for history only. But three large results, besides the general democratization of politics, stand out. One is the detachment of the United States from the affairs of the Old World. Another is the growth of a sense of national life, especially in the Northern and Western States, along with the growth at the same time of a

secessionist spirit among the slave-holders. And the third is the development of the complex machinery of party organization, with the adoption of the principle on which that machinery so largely rests, that public office is to be enjoyed only by the adherents of the President for the time being.

The Whig party having begun to vanish, the Democrats seemed to be for the moment, as they had been once before, left in possession of the field. But this time a new antagonist was quick to appear. The growing boldness of the slave-owners had begun to alarm the Northern people, when they were startled by the decision of the Supreme Court, pronounced in the case of the slave, Dred Scott, which laid down the doctrine that Congress had no power to forbid slavery anywhere, and that a slave-holder might carry his slaves with him where he pleased, seeing that they were mere objects of property, whose possession the Constitution guaranteed. This hastened the formation of a new party, which took in 1856 the name of Republican, and whose presidential candidate in the same year was John C. Fremont. At the same time it threw an apple of discord among the Democrats. In 1860 the latter could not agree upon a candidate for President. The Southern wing pledged themselves to one man, the Northern wing to another; a body of hesitating and semi-detached politicians put forward a third. Thus the Republicans through the divisions of their opponents triumphed in the election of Abraham Lincoln, presently followed by the secession of eleven slave States.

The Republican party, which had started by proclaiming the right of Congress to restrict slavery, and had denounced the Dred Scott decision, was of course throughout the Civil War the defender of the Union and the asserter of Federal authority, stretched, as was unavoidable, to lengths previously un-

heard of. When the war was over, there came the difficult task of reconstructing the now reconquered slave States, and of securing the position in them of the lately liberated negroes. The outrages perpetrated on the latter, and on white settlers in some parts of the South, required further exertions of Federal authority, and made the question of the limit of that authority still a practical one, for the old Democratic party, almost silenced during the war, had now reappeared in full force as the advocate of State rights, and the watchful critic of any undue stretches of Federal authority. It was found necessary to negative the Dred Scott decision and set at rest all questions relating to slavery and to the political equality of the races by the adoption of three important amendments to the Constitution. The troubles of the South by degrees settled down as the whites regained possession of the State governments, and the Northern troops were withdrawn. In the presidential election of 1876 the war question and negro question had become dead issues, for it was plain that a large and increasing number of the voters were no longer, despite the appeals of the Republican leaders, seriously concerned about them. This election marks the close of the third period, which embraces the rise and overwhelming predominance of the Republican party.

Two permanent oppositions may, I think, be discerned running through the history of the parties, sometimes openly recognized, sometimes concealed by the urgency of a transitory question. One of these is the opposition between a centralized and a federalized government. The former has been the watchword of the Democratic party. The latter was seldom distinctly avowed, but was generally in fact represented by the Federalists of the first period, the Whigs of the second, the Republicans of the third.

The other opposition, though it goes deeper and is more pervasive, has been less clearly marked in America, and less consciously admitted by the Americans themselves. It is the opposition between the tendency which makes some men prize the freedom of the individual as the first of social goods, and that which disposes others to insist on checking and regulating his impulses. The opposition of these two tendencies, the love of liberty and the love of order, is permanent and necessary, because it springs differences in the intellect and feelings of men which one finds in all countries and at all epochs.

CHAPTER II

NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

In every American election there are two acts of choice, two periods of contest. The first is the selection of the candidate from within the party by the party; the other is the struggle between the parties for the place. Frequently the former of these is more important, more keenly fought over, than the latter, for there are many districts in which the predominance of one party is so marked that its candidate is sure of success, and therefore the choice of a candidate is virtually the choice of the officer or representative.

The process is similar in every State of the Union, and through all elections to office, from the lowest to the highest, from that of common councilman for a city ward up to that of President of the United States. But, of course, the higher the office, and the larger the area over which the election extends, the greater are the efforts made to secure the nomination, and the hotter the passions it excites.

Like most political institutions, the system of

nominating the President by a popular convention is the result of a long process of evolution.

From 1789 till 1800 there were no formal nominations; from 1800 till 1824, nominations were made by congressional caucuses; from 1824 till 1840, nominations irregularly made by State legislatures and popular meetings were gradually ripening towards the method of a special gathering of delegates from the whole country. This last plan has held its ground from 1840 till the present day, and is so exactly conformable to the political habits of the people that it is not likely soon to disappear.

Its perfection, however, was not reached at once. The early conventions were to a large extent mass meetings. The later and present ones are regularly-constituted representative bodies, composed exclusively of delegates, each of whom has been duly elected at a party meeting in his own State, and brings with him his credentials.

The Constitution provides that each State shall choose as many presidential electors as it has persons representing it in Congress, i.e., two electors to correspond to the two senators from each State, and as many more as the State sends members to the House of Representatives.

Now, in the nominating convention each State is allowed twice as many delegates as it has electoral votes. The delegates are chosen by local conventions in their several States, viz., two for each congressional district by the party convention of that district, and four for the whole State (called delegates-at-large) by the State convention. As each convention is composed of delegates from primaries, it is the composition of the primaries which determines of the local conventions, and the composition of the local conventions which determines that of the national. To every delegate there is added

a person called his "alternate," chosen by the local convention at the same time, and empowered to replace him in case he cannot be present in the national convention. If the delegate is present to vote, the alternate is silent; if from any cause the delegate is absent, the alternate steps into his shoes.

Each State delegation has its chairman, and is expected to keep together during the convention. It usually travels together to the place of meeting; takes rooms in the same hotel; has a recognized headquarters there; sits in a particular place allotted to it in the convention hall; holds meetings of its members during the progress of the convention to decide on the course which it shall from time to time take. These meetings, if the State be a large and doubtful one, excite great interest, and the sharp-eared reporter prowls around them, eager to learn how the votes will go. Each State delegation votes by its chairman, who announces how his delegates vote; but if his report is challenged the roll of delegates is called, and they vote individually. Whether the votes of a State delegation shall be given solid for the aspirant whom the majority of the delegation favors, or by the delegates individually, according to their preferences, is a point which has excited bitter controversy. The present practice of the Republican party (so settled in 1876 and again in 1880) allows the delegates to vote individually, even when they have been instructed by a State convention to cast a solid vote. The Democratic party, on the other hand, sustains any such instruction given to the delegation and records the vote of all the State delegates for the aspirant whom the majority among them approve. This is the so-called unit rule. If, however, the State convention has not imposed the unit rule, the delegates vote individually.

For the sake of keeping up party life in the terri-

tories and in the Federal District of Columbia, delegates from them are admitted to the national convention, although the territories and district have no votes in a presidential election.

So much for the composition of the national convention: we may now go on to describe its proceedings.

It is held in the summer immediately preceding a presidential election, usually in June or July, the election falling in November. A large city is always chosen, in order to obtain adequate hotel accommodation, and easy railroad access.

Business begins by the calling of the convention to order by the chairman of the National Party Committee. Then a temporary chairman is nominated, and, if opposed, voted on; the vote sometimes giving an indication of the respective strength of the factions present. Then the secretaries and the clerks are appointed, and the rules which are to govern the business are adopted. After this, the committees, particularly those on credentials and resolutions, are nominated, and the convention adjourns till their report can be presented.

The next sitting usually opens, after the customary prayer, with the appointment of the permanent chairman, who inaugurates the proceedings with a speech. Then the report of the committee on resolutions (if completed) is presented. It contains what is called the platform, a long series of resolutions embodying the principles and programme of the party, which has usually been so drawn as to conciliate every section, and avoid or treat with prudent ambiguity those questions on which opinion within the party is divided. Any delegate who objects to a resolution can move to strike it out or amend it; but it is generally sustained in the shape it has received from the practiced hands of the committee.

Next follows the nomination of aspirants for the post of party candidate. The roll of States is called, and when a State is reached to which an aspirant intended to be nominated belongs, a prominent delegate from that State mounts the platform, and proposes him in a speech extolling his merits, and sometimes indirectly disparaging the other aspirants. Another delegate seconds the nomination, sometimes a third follows; and then the roll-call goes on till all the States have been despatched, and all the aspirants nominated. The average number of nominations is seven or eight; it rarely exceeds twelve.

Thus the final stage is reached, for which all else has been but preparation—that of balloting between the aspirants. The clerks call the roll of States from Alabama to Wyoming, and, as each is called, the chairman of its delegation announces the votes, e.g., six for A, five for B, three for C, unless, of course, under the unit rule, the whole vote is cast for that one aspirant whom the majority of the delegation supports. When all have voted, the totals are made up and announced. If one competitor has an absolute majority of the whole number voting, according to the Republican rule, a majority of two thirds of the number voting, according to the Democratic rule, he has been duly chosen, and nothing remains but formally to make his nomination unanimous. If, however, as has usually happened of late years, no one obtains the requisite majority, the roll is called again, in order that individual delegates and delegations (if the unit rule prevails) may have the opportunity of changing their votes; and the process is repeated until some one of the aspirants put forward has received the required number of votes. Sometimes many roll-calls take place.

When a candidate for the presidency has been thus found, the convention proceeds similarly to deter-

mine its candidate for the vice-presidency. The work of the convention is then complete, and votes of thanks to the chairman and other officials conclude the proceedings. The two nominees are now the party candidates, entitled to the support of the party organizations and of loyal party men over the length and breadth of the Union.

CHAPTER III

HOW PUBLIC OPINION RULES

Of all the experiments which America has made, that of ruling by public opinion best deserves study, for her solution of the problem differs from all previous solutions, and she has shown more boldness in trusting public opinion, in recognizing and giving effect to it, than has yet been shown elsewhere. Towering over Presidents and State governors, over Congress and State legislatures, over conventions and the vast machinery of party, public opinion stands out, in the United States, as the great source of power, the masters of servants who tremble before it.

Congress sits for two years only. It is strictly limited by the Constitution, which is a fundamental law placed out of its reach, and by the co-existence of the State governments, which the Constitution protects. It has (except by way of impeachment) no control over the Federal Executive, which is directly named by and responsible to the people. So, too, the State legislatures sit for short periods, do not appoint the State Executives, are hedged in by the prohibitions of the State Constitutions. The people frequently legislate directly by enacting or altering a Constitution. The principle of popular sovereignty could hardly be expressed more unmistakably. The only check on the mass is that which they have themselves imposed, and which the anci-

ent democracies did not possess, the difficulty of changing a rigid Constitution. And this difficulty is serious only as regards the Federal Constitution.

As this is the most developed form of popular government, so is it also the form which most naturally produces what I have called government by public opinion. Popular government may be said to exist wherever all power is lodged in and issues from the people. Government by public opinion exists where the wishes and views of the people prevail, even before they have been conveyed through the regular law-appointed organs, and without the need of their being so conveyed. Where the power of the people is absolute, legislators and administrators are quick to catch its wishes in whatever way they may be indicated, and do not care to wait for the methods which the law prescribes. This happens in America.

A consideration of the nature of the State government as of the national government will show that legal theory as well as popular self-confidence gives birth to this rule of opinion. Supreme power resides in the whole mass of citizens. They have prescribed, in the strict terms of a legal document, the form of government. They alone have the right to change it, and that only in a particular way. They have committed only a part of their sovereignty to their executive and legislative agents, reserving the rest to themselves. Hence their will, or, in other words, public opinion, is constantly felt by these agents to be, legally as well as practically, the controlling authority. In England, parliament is the nation, not merely by a legal fiction, but because the nation looks to parliament only, having neither reserved any authority to itself nor bestowed any elsewhere. In America, Congress is not the nation, and does not claim to be so.

The ordinary functions and business of govern-

ment, the making of laws, the imposing of taxes, the interpretation of laws and their execution, the administration of justice, the conduct of foreign relations, are parceled out among a number of bodies and persons whose powers are so carefully balanced and touch at so many points that there is a constant risk of conflicts, even of deadlocks. The master, however, is at hand to settle the quarrels of his servants. If the question be a grave one, and the mind of the country clear upon it, public opinion throws its weight into one or other scale, and its weight is decisive. Should opinion be nearly balanced, it is no doubt difficult to ascertain, till the next election arrives, which of many discordant cries is really the prevailing voice. The general truth remains that a system of government by checks and balances specially needs the presence of an arbiter to incline the scale in favor of one or other of the balanced authorities, and that public opinion must, therefore, be more frequently invoked and more constantly active in America than in other countries.

Those who invented this machinery of checks and balances were anxious not so much to develop public opinion as to resist and build up breakwaters against it. The efforts made in 1787 to divide authority and, so to speak, force the current of the popular will into many small channels, instead of permitting it to rush down one broad bed, have really tended to exalt public opinion above the regular legally-appointed organs of government. Each of these organs is too small to form opinion, too narrow to express it, too weak to give effect to it. It grows up not in Congress, not in State legislatures, not in those great conventions which frame platforms and choose candidates, but at large among the people. It is expressed in voices everywhere. It rules as a pervading and impalpable power, like the ether which, as physicists

say, passes through all things. It binds all the parts of the complicated system together and gives them whatever unity of aim and action they possess.

In the United States public opinion is the opinion of the whole nation, with little distinction of social classes. The politicians find no difficulty in keeping in touch with outside opinion. They do not aspire to the function of forming opinion. The opinion of the nation is the resultant of the views, not of a number of classes, but of a multitude of individuals, diverse, no doubt, from the one another, but for the purposes of politics far less diverse than if they were members of groups defined by social rank or by property.

The consequences are noteworthy. One is, that statesmen cannot, as in Europe, declare any sentiment which they find telling on their friends or their opponents in politics to be confined to the rich, or to those occupied with government, and to be opposed to the general sentiment of the people. In America you cannot appeal from the classes to the masses. Divisions of opinion are vertical and not horizontal. Obviously this makes opinion more easily ascertained, while increasing its force as a governing power, and gives the people, that is to say, all classes in the community a clearer and stronger consciousness of being the rulers of their country than European peoples have. Every man knows that he is himself a part of the government, bound by duty as well as by self-interest to devote part of his time and thoughts to it. He may neglect this duty, but he admits it to be a duty. So the system of party organizations already described is built upon this theory; and as this system is more recent, and is the work of practical politicians, it is even better evidence of the general acceptance of the doctrine than are the provisions of Constitutions.

THE BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

SOME OF THE GREAT AMERICANS WHO HAVE
HELPED TO MAKE THE MARVELOUS
HISTORY OF THE NATION

With an Introduction by
THOMAS H. RUSSELL, A. M., LL. D.

INTRODUCTION

In the evolution of the United States of America many men of note have played historic parts and no history of the nation is complete without a biographical review of the statesmen, soldiers and publicists who may be justly classed and characterized as builders of the Republic.

Some of the great American patriots lived and labored contemporaneously with George Washington and supplemented his efforts in the field and in council, bending their energies to the task of starting the new nation aright. Their achievements rank high in the world's history of patriotic endeavor. Their names are enshrined in the hearts of a mighty people; their life histories are worthy of the closest study and every intelligent American should be acquainted with the leading facts and incidents of their remarkable careers, which are interestingly disclosed in the following pages.

The creation of the American Union involved two gigantic struggles. The first was the War for Independence, the second a political struggle over the Federal Constitution to settle our form of national government. Some there were who bore an honorable part in both the military and the political conflict—soldiers who were statesmen and statesmen who served the new-born nation with credit as soldiers. Others gained historic fame in a single field. Thus the names of Madison and Marshall are closely identified with the Constitution, while the fame of Patrick Henry rests upon the military struggle of the Revolution proper.

The lives of fifteen of these great builders of the Republic have been covered here in biographical sketches that successfully depict the personality underlying each career. Fourteen of these selected characters belong to the Revolutionary period, and one, Abraham Lincoln, to the important period of national reconstruction in the nineteenth century. The work of Lincoln was that of a successful re-builder. He corrected errors and supplied omissions in the original plans of the national structure, strengthened its foundations, and embellished the fabric by the light of experience gained through three-quarters of a century of trying test.

In these historical sketches the student of American history will find the latest results of investigation and critical thought regarding the eminent characters of the Revolution. A wealth of material bearing upon that period has been brought to light in recent years and many of our past opinions respecting the men and events of the Revolutionary era now require modification, if not complete change. Hence these historical studies of the builders of the Republic will be found to possess an absorbing interest for every reader, even for those who believe themselves well versed in the history of the nation.—T. H. R.

THE BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Born, February 22, 1732; Died, December 14, 1799.

Men like all other living beings are molded by their environment. On the broad surface of the earth, the highest development of humanity has taken place at a few particular points. At these places the stress and clash of opposing forces have necessitated the production of specialized and usually higher types, and in obedience to the necessity the higher type has come into being. The northern and central parts of England are such localities. For centuries they were the scenes of the struggle between racial, religious, social, and political tendencies in which by degrees men of a powerful heroic nature were evolved from a simpler ancestry.

The county of Durham in the former, and of Northampton in the latter, are of especial interest to an American, because the former was the cradle and the latter the second home of the Washington race. In the former shire were bred the men, who with colleagues of Cumberland and Northumberland resisted the forays and invasions of the fierce warriors of the North, while in the latter shire were bred the strong soldiers, who upheld the banners of England in a thousand battles on both land and sea. As far back as 1264 the Washington family was conspicuous for its physical prowess, intelligence

and martial skill. In this year, William Washington, of Washington Parish, was an English Knight who upheld most valorously King Henry III in the Battle of Lewes. He was a worthy descendant of the Saxon Captains, who conquered that part of England in preceding generations from the Celtic owners of the soil.

In the fifteenth century the family moved from Durham to Northampton where their many excellent qualities procured for them a hearty welcome. They came by way of Lancashire and were drawn southward toward the Capital by the allurements of wealth and power. In 1533, Laurence Washington was made Chief Magistrate of Northampton, and thirteen years later he was again elected to the same high honor. His great grandsons John and Andrew crossed the ocean in 1657, and settled in Westmoreland county, Virginia, where they became owners of vast estates and growers of wheat and tobacco. Their coming had a political motive, as they had served under the luckless monarch Charles I, and had fought bravely for that king at Nasby and other engagements. During the four hundred years of which we have records, the male members of the family were marked by great vigor, a deep moral nature and sound common sense. They were never brilliant nor impulsive. They were capital representatives of the landed gentry of England, the class intermediate between the nobility and the common people, which has always been the bone and sinew of Great Britain.

The change of environment brought into being new qualities. The Washingtons who remained in the old country, kept on the even tenor of their ways, and neither added to nor subtracted from the record of their race. But those in America were infected by the intenser life, which marked the New

World from its first settlement. The American branch culminated in George, son of Augustine Washington and Mary Ball. While his magnificent physique, military talent and common sense were seemingly derived from the paternal stock, from his mother he inherited a gentleness, a sweetness of disposition, an altruism and regard for the graces, which made the man so beloved from childhood unto death.

His first schooling was under John Hobby, who combined the three functions of being a farmer, teacher and parish sexton, and who according to a wit of that time "was in every sense a very grave teacher." His secondary education was under Mr. Henry Williams, who was a profound scholar in mathematics and a mere child in English branches. Owing to this fact, Washington's education was singularly one-sided, and to those who did not understand the conditions under which he had grown up, his mental status was a mystery. He talked and spoke in masterly manner, while his writing and spelling were fearful to contemplate.

He received a schooling however of which little or nothing is recorded, but which must have influenced his life more than all other things combined. This was the training from his mother. In her, duty was united to love, and her only aim was to make her boys upright, cultured Christian gentlemen. She was their playmate as well as teacher. She read aloud to them and in turn made them read aloud to her, correcting as they went every little slip of the boyish tongue. Her library was small, and from the modern point of view narrow in scope and limited in variety, but what there was she made the best use of in her power. There was much practical wisdom in her maternal instincts. She saw the beneficence of physical strength and

endurance, and encouraged her boys in athletic sports and games. She applauded them heartily when they excelled in jumping and wrestling, and sorrowed with them when they were vanquished, as did occur sometimes in their competitions. Owing to the fine inheritance from the father, as well as to their home influences the sons excelled in manly sports, and George from the first towered above all his playmates and friends.

Love is a divine contagion, and the warm maternal affection was answered by an equally strong filial feeling. This is best evidenced by one act, almost heroic, on the part of the future President. He had long been eager to be an officer in the British army. Finally, through his brother Laurence, he obtained a midshipman's warrant. This was a high honor in those days, and every young man for miles around envied him his newly gained distinction. His outfit and order to report for duty had arrived, and he, proud and happy, went to bid his mother good-by. Her grief was almost unutterable, and so affected the strong son that he threw up his commission and began the profession of land surveyor, which his mother preferred to that of a naval officer.

At eighteen he had become a successful surveyor, and was doing a large business. Many of his deeds and charts are still to be seen in the records of Stafford, Westmoreland, King George, Caroline, Richmond and Essex counties, Virginia.

Partly under the influence of the muse, and partly under that of the tender passion, he began about this period to write poetry, and very bad poetry, too. When he was rejected by Miss Grimes, he recorded his anguish in a funeral poem, preserved in Mount Vernon, which begins:

My poor restless heart
Wounded by Cupid's dart.

This is merely one of many, and all of them are deliciously bad. They survey well and when measured by compasses and rulers may be classed along with his maps and surveying plans.

Between 1749 and 1752, he devoted his leisure time to military science and to broad sword and rapier fencing, becoming remarkably well informed in the one and an expert master of the latter. When nineteen years of age, he was appointed Adjutant-General of local militia. In 1753 his fame must have spread abroad, because he was selected by Governor Dinwiddie as a special commissioner to go to the commandant of the French army which had been establishing military posts on the Ohio River and inquire by what authority he was invading British soil. Washington performed this perilous task with signal success. Its dangers were so great that few people expected him ever to return. It was such a demonstration of corporeal strength, courage, and intelligence that as Irving says in commenting upon it: "From that moment, he was the rising hope of Virginia."

Human nature beneath the varnish of civilization is still savage. We adore the strong man as much today as in the times of Samson and Achilles. The young Virginia giant, who had demonstrated the possession of an intelligence, shrewdness and valor worthy of his magnificent frame, was now a commanding figure in the Commonwealth. Immediately afterwards, a force was dispatched against the French, Washington being appointed Colonel. He refused the post upon the modest plea that he was unfit, but accepted the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the expedition. He received command of the vanguard

and started several days ahead of the main body. At Great Meadows, he learned that French troops were approaching him with a view to surprise his force. He turned the tables by marching ten miles through the forest on a dark rainy night and surprised them, killing or capturing nearly all the enemy, numbering a hundred. The skill with which the victory was achieved evinced strong military talent, and was prophetic of his future career.

In 1775 he became aide-de-camp to General Braddock, and took part in the luckless expedition against Fort DuQuesne. Against Washington's remonstrance, Braddock employed conventional European tactics in marching, and was ambushed and routed. Only the courage, coolness and genius of Washington saved the army from annihilation.

Though a blow at British prestige, the defeat put more laurels upon Washington than if it had been a victory. So strongly had he impressed himself upon the public mind, that he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised or to be raised in Virginia. He took part in the campaign of 1758, where he again won honors by his gallantry and skill. January, 1759, saw him happily married to Mrs. Martha Custis, of White House, near Williamsburg. The honeymoon closed by his taking his seat in the House of Burgesses, to which he had been, in the meantime, elected.

Here, when he entered the Assembly hall, he received a remarkable ovation, the members rising and cheering like mad. He tried to acknowledge the honor with a speech, but blushed and was unable to proceed. There was a painful silence, broken by the chairman who said: "Sit down, Mr. Washington. Your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language, I possess." Washington, tradition says, remarked to Patrick Henry

afterwards: "that but for his diffidence, the Burgesses would have had a very enjoyable speech."

During the next fourteen years, his life was uneventful. He attended the House of Burgesses, where he was prominent by reason of his efficiency and common sense, but where he never made a speech so far as is recorded. The rest of his time he devoted to his estate, his family and out-door sports. Unlike the planters of his time he did not indulge in the hard drinking bouts so popular in the olden days. His kind-heartedness made him idolized throughout his part of the State. He was singularly generous and hospitable, his house in his own words "being a well crowded tavern." He took a deep interest in his neighbors and went out of his way to patch up a truce whenever there was ill-will or litigation among his acquaintances.

During this period he kept himself well informed in regard to current events, and though conservative in his views, he was firm in his opposition to the attitude of the British Administration. His views were well expressed in August, 1773, when in a discussion upon British imposts, he said,

"I will raise a thousand men, subsist them at my own expense and march with them at their head for the relief of Boston."

Elected to the First Continental Congress in 1774, he went to Philadelphia and took a foremost part in the proceedings. He was a member of the Committee which drew the famous address to the "People of Great Britain." His work in this short-lived body, which adjourned in October, was summed up by Patrick Henry, who when asked the name of the ablest man in the Congress, replied, "If you refer to eloquence, John Rutledge of South Carolina, is our greatest orator, but if you speak of solid information, practical ability and sound judgment, Colonel

George Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on the floor."

The second Continental Congress, to which he was elected a member, assembled at Philadelphia in May, 1775, and unanimously elected him Commander-in-Chief of all the Continental forces. In an age, where the use of arms was a general necessity, and a country which abounded in adventurous spirits, this action was most significant. He received his commission on June 17th, and on July 2nd reached Cambridge.

He had under him seventeen thousand troops, raw and undisciplined, so that he was compelled to train his men while at the same time he was besieging the British. He succeeded in both, and compelled the British to evacuate the city of Boston on March 17, 1776.

England now began to mass its forces in the colonies and a period of gloom was the result. The Battle of Long Island in the summer of 1776 lost New York, and after this came the sufferings of Monmouth, Brandywine, Germantown and Valley Forge, and then the sun came out and night changed to day in the great victory of Yorktown in 1781. In these weary years, Washington showed the stuff which heroes are made of. Patience, hope, courage, endurance, self-control and self-sacrifice shone out over and above his military and administrative genius. Deceived by friends, injured by rivals, and betrayed by those that he trusted, he never despaired and never faltered. It was a crucible in which most men would have vanished, but through which Washington came not only unscathed, but greater and nobler than when he entered it. Even in the darkest hour he never lost his spirit. What could be more felicitous than his making a decoration for bravery among his soldiers by sewing upon the

breast of their uniforms a red flannel heart. He was too poor to make one of more ambitious material and took the only thing which came to hand.

In May, 1782, came a temptation of a different sort. The soldiers, who were dissatisfied with the administration, and the class which believed in monarchical rule formed a movement to make him king. Had he accepted there would have been no power sufficient to prevent. But not for a second would he listen to the proposal. He expressed himself with such force concerning the proposition that the author, Colonel Nicola, and the men behind him, gave up the idea forever.

Again he returned to his home at Mount Vernon and resumed his duties as a simple country gentleman. He led the Virginia delegation at the Philadelphia convention of 1787, and was unanimously elected its President. On April 6, 1789, the electoral votes of the states were opened and counted, and Washington, who had received every ballot of the ten states which took part in the choice, was declared President of the United States of America.

He began his administration on April 30, 1789, and for eight years labored to his utmost for the welfare of the Republic. It was no easy task. New conditions had brought about new ideas and leaders, and everywhere there were controversy and political antagonism. In his own cabinet, Jefferson of Virginia and Knox of Massachusetts were bitterly opposed to Hamilton of New York. Congress was divided into warring factions, and among the common people there was endless bickering upon all matters pertaining to the State. On September 19, 1796, he wrote his famous address declining a third election. The fourth of March saw him an honored visitor at the inaugural of his successor, John

Adams, after which he resumed his old life as a citizen at Mount Vernon.

The following July 3rd, when war seemed imminent with France, he yielded to the entreaties of the American people and accepted a Commission as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the armies raised or to be raised in the United States. Into this work, he plunged with all the vigor of youth, and while engaged in the multifarious duties of his office he weakened his constitution already enfeebled by the years and on December 12, 1799, took a severe cold from which he died two days afterwards.

No earthly magnate ever received such recognition after death from the people he had governed. Not until then did the world realize the singular grandeur of the man's life. Now that he had passed away all recognized that in him had been one of the great characters of history. The obsequies were celebrated, not only in every hamlet of the Republic, but in all the great civilized lands of the world. France went into mourning, and even Great Britain, whose pride he had humbled, joined in paying tribute to his memory. The tide of affection has never waned. Throughout the length and breadth of the Union are statues and other monuments. One of the great states bears his name, while the number of counties, cities, towns, avenues, streets and buildings styled after him would fill a small volume.

It was the majesty of the man which compelled the admiration of the world. It was the soul within which won all hearts. Beneath the statesman, soldier and executive was a spirit full of joy and sunlight. The cares of State or of armies never blinded him to the smaller relations and associations of life. He was as courteous to a common soldier as to a

general, and as kindly to the pickaninnies of his farm as to the children of the statesmen of his cabinet. He was broad in his sympathies and liberal in his beliefs. In his diary, written at a time when religious prejudices were bitter, may be found the eloquent entry:

"September 4th: Went to the Presbyterian meeting in the forenoon and the Romish Church in the afternoon."

Though an unswerving Christian himself, he allowed full latitude to the beliefs of others. Three of his warmest friends and admirers were Thomas Paine, an infidel, Thomas Jefferson a Deist, who was styled an Atheist in those days, and Benjamin Franklin, who was what the present age would call an Agnostic. Though a clumsy versifier, he had the poet's soul. He loved beauty and enjoyed its manifestations in flower, bird and beast, in river, forest and landscape, in buildings, paintings and humanity itself. Toward women his attitude was invariably that of the admirer and worshipper. Yet beneath his adoration of womanhood he had a keen practical knowledge of her infirmities. To Captain Ben Walker, who came to him for sympathy in some love affair, Washington laughingly said:

"Women do not die of such trifles. Write to her, Captain, and add another chapter to her book of sufferings."

Diplomatic was his practice of sending complimentary and even flattering remarks about fair friends to mutual acquaintances. He knew that the latter would invariably read the letter to the former, and in this way he would make both happy. There was a certain drollery in the way in which he carried on this method by the wholesale. Posterity, in collecting his letters as a priceless heritage to history,

has found that the great President wrote the same story or set of finely turned compliments to not one but a dozen different friends, each one of whom, of course, thought he or she was the sole possessor of the attentions. It is easy to see how Washington must have chuckled to himself as he manifolded these agreeable epistles.

Most of the world's great soldiers have been marked by sternness or reserve. Few have been characterized by a warm heart and sunny disposition. Washington at Mount Vernon was the incarnation of kindness. He sympathized with the smallest animals on his plantation and looked after their ailments with as much assiduity as a mother does to her child. He would lead wet chickens into the kitchen where they might get dry, nurse his dogs when ill, attend his horses when injured, and take a deep interest in his cattle. It is scarcely conceivable that the founder of the great western Republic should have made such entries in his diary as this:

"Anointed all my hounds (as well old dogs as puppies) which have the mange, with hog's lard and brimstone."

In duck hunting he could give points to President Cleveland, while in fishing he had angled for nearly every denizen of American waters, salt and fresh. He was a model farmer and made his estate pay well to its owner. With characteristic enterprise he bought and raised the finest varieties of seeds and the best specimens of farm animals. At agricultural fairs in several states he carried off prizes for tobacco, wheat, barley, horses, mules, bulls, cows, and sheep. He seemed as proud of one trophy from an agricultural fair as he did of mementoes of historical value. This was a massive silver cup carrying the inscription:

1790

A Premium from the Agricultural
Society of South Carolina
to
GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
For Raising the Largest Jackass

In reading this aloud to his friends he would sometimes add, "and nothing personal intended."

His favorite indoor amusements were cards and billiards, at both of which he played for small table stakes. At the former he was not skillful but at the latter he played a little above mediocrity.

He had a hearty love for the theater, and especially of wholesome drama. His taste for the stage was so strong that it extended even to amateur performances. Nor were these his only diversion. The circus, menagerie and concert, appealed to him irresistibly. He had the American weakness for sideshows, and visited waxworks, marionettes, Punch and Judy-shows, dancing bears and other catch-penny attractions.

His favorite quotations were from Addison, Shakespeare, and Sterne. The authors he preferred were Robertson, Vertot, Sully, Voltaire, Goldsmith, Adam Smith, Homer, Burns, Lord Chesterfield, Swift, Smollet, Fielding, and Cervantes, in addition to the three mentioned. He was not a reading man with the exception of works on the science of war and agriculture.

His was the hearty speech of the period, but much purer and cleaner than that of his compeers. If statesmanship be the creation of great plans and the working along certain pre-established lines Washington was not a statesman, but if it be a higher matter than this and based upon the principle that nations like individuals will prosper when guided by

a high morality, and that the best course for a commonwealth is one marked by liberty, opportunity and rectitude, he will take rank among the great leaders of the world. His Christianity was organic and not superficial. He knew that right was bound to progress and triumph, and that evil was of its own nature ephemeral and self destructive. Certain that the Lord would take care of His own and that the universe moved according to Divine will, he was content with leaving things as they were or at the most of making such changes as would give a wider latitude to political action or improve the moral aspect of public affairs. He seconded heartily the endeavors of others to introduce reforms in both State and Nation. When these were once started, he aided to the best of his ability. Though nominally a Federalist, his strong religious bent and perhaps his deep love for his fellow-beings made him a member of the Jeffersonian rather than the Hamilton school of thought. His refusal of a crown and the scorn he poured upon the ideas which the decoration represented throw light upon his opinions as does the eagerness with which he resigned the Presidency at the expiration of a second term. He did not have the fear so common to ordinary statesmen that the country could not get along without him at the helm.

To every field a flower is born;
To every heavenly house a star;
The moon drives fast night's spectral car;
The sun, the chargers of the morn.
Unto each commonwealth there comes
The man of prophecy or fate—
A warrior 'mid the roll of drums,
A hero from a higher state.

They loom, the landmarks of our race,
Embodying each the living thought
Wherewith his time and place are fraught,
Which years deface but not efface.

They stand like stupendous chain
Of statues in the Chinese land,
Which, stretching leagues along the plain,
At last is swallowed in the sand.

Each figure is a runic score
Of doom and deed, of hope and need,
Which he who runs may lightly read,
And he who waits may ponder o'er,
How different are the tales they tell
To ears which have been turned aright,
Of thralldom's force and evil's spell,
Of Freedom's strength and manhood's might.

The conquerors hold the thrones they wrought,
While o'er them sages tower and seers;
Still larger rise the pioneers
Of progress and of human thought;
And far above these are the forms
Of those who lived to make men free,
Or nobly died in war's fierce storms
As sacrifice to liberty.

The Gracchi and Aristides:
Bozzaris and Rienzi great,
With Cromwell, uncrowned king of fate;
The princes of the Maccabees;
Stout Winkelried, brave Bolivar;
And Toussaint L'Ouverture, the bold;
Wallace, the flaming Highland star,
Of chivalry the perfect mould.

And many another doughty soul
Who strove and struggled, dared and died;
But greater than these glorified,
Of conquerors, whom hosts extol,
Or kings or pontiffs of the past,
Is he whom years will look upon
In awe and wonder to the last,—
Is he our father, Washington.

In speech, the counselor and sage;
In deed, the gentle man and true;
In peace, a sunbeam to pursue;
In war, the leader of his age.
A model of the olden time,
A model for our own compeers;
And ever stately and sublime,
A model for all coming years.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Born, January 17, 1706; Died, April 17, 1790.

To the question, who has been the best representative of Anglo-Saxon genius, the United States can answer by pointing to its great son, Benjamin Franklin. Now that more than a century has elapsed since his death, it is becoming easy to measure him among the many brilliant men of his period. He seems a laughing, big-hearted, intellectual Goth, leading a happy life amid a world of pigmies. His titanic energies were expanded in a dozen channels and in each, brought him lasting fame had he done naught else. Journalism and authorship, humor and philosophy, science and invention, statecraft and diplomacy, patriotism and philanthropy were successfully wooed and won by by this indomitable child of the New World.

Like George Washington, his race came from Northamptonshire in England, but unlike his immortal colleague, he was the youngest of seventeen children of a man who was not overblessed with worldly goods. Washington had the advantages of the wealth and culture which Virginia afforded in the early part of the 18th century. Franklin after only a single twelvemonth at a grammar school began life's struggle at ten years of age, cutting candle wicks and filling candle molds. He was precocious, physically and mentally, learning to read and write fluently before going to school and displaying in conversation and conduct the knowledge

of a man when he had not entered his teens. Before he was twelve, he was the bookworm of his family; but unlike most bookworms he did not allow his reading and studies to interfere with the care of his body. At twelve he was apprenticed to a printing shop and before he was sixteen, he had learned the trade; written, printed and peddled his own poems and songs; obtained a knowledge of logic, geometry, rhetoric, religious criticism and general science. Ere he was seventeen, people regarded him as a dangerous infidel.

Tiring of life in Boston, he left that city in 1723, stopped at New York and settled in Philadelphia. Relying upon the windy promises of Governor, Sir William Keith, who was to furnish him with the equipment of a publishing office, he went to London to buy the plant for a journal, but was compelled to support himself. He spent two years in the British metropolis and then voyaged to the City of Brotherly Love. Three years later, he became proprietor of the Pennsylvania Gazette and made it so popular by his wit, humor and able writing that it brought him in a handsome income. This would have utilized all the energies of an average man but it seems to have been no tax upon Franklin. In addition to his journalistic and literary work, he was the chief member of a debating society called the Junto which he founded shortly after coming from England. This club developed into the American Philosophical Society which for many years was the most noted learned body in the New World. He continued his scientific studies and made many useful inventions and discoveries, including improved chimney flues, the open stove, and culminating in the demonstration that lightning was an electrical discharge, for which he received the Copley Medal from the Royal Society of Great Britain.

His wit and levity found vent in the famous book *Poor Richard's Almanac*, the first book work of literary humor produced in the colonies and which immediately became a classic. How he did all this work is a mystery. Yet in addition to the foregoing, he took a lively interest in government affairs, accepting the position of Assembly clerk in 1736, of Postmaster of Philadelphia in 1737, and of Deputy Postmaster-General for the British Colonies in America in 1753. Besides increasing the facilities and efficiency of the service, he made it what had always been pronounced impossible, self-supporting and then profitable.

In 1754, he displayed a statesmanship of the highest type and unconsciously planned a national organization similar to that which hundreds of minds and innumerable political forces have since brought into being. There was a prospect of war with France and the Colonial governors issued a call for a Colonial Congress to be held at Albany. The importance of the matter escaped nearly all eyes; but seven colonies, those of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland sending delegates. The only newspaper which took especial cognizance of the subject was Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* in which, Franklin himself displayed a humorous illustration of the political conditions of the time over the motto, "Unite or Die."

At Albany the great sage recommended a union of the thirteen colonies under a single centralized government but with local autonomy to each member. He advocated a "Central Council" corresponding to Congress, which was to have sole power to legislate on matters concerning the Colonies as a whole. It was to impose taxes, conduct civil government and have a national army. The President was to be the executive and was to possess a veto

power upon the actions of the Council. It was a hundredfold superior to the articles of confederation under which the thirteen States existed from the close of the Revolution until 1789. Not until the last date did men realize the difficulties which beset the government of the New World: not until after they had studied and debated for months and years under the strongest pressure possible did they evolve the present Constitution which was practically a second edition of the so-called "Albany Plan" of Benjamin Franklin.

Two other acts of his career deserve notice as illustrating phases of his many-sided genius. In 1731 he founded the Philadelphia Library and broached the ideas which are now being developed into the Public Library system of the country. Twelve years later, he projected the noble academy which became the University of Pennsylvania. Here, he astonished pedagogues on both sides of the ocean by taking strong ground in favor of the useful as opposed to the ornamental studies as he termed them, which must have been rank heresy to every collegian of the period. Franklin's conception of a university was an institution which would fit men for the professions and such callings as demanded special culture or intellectual training. This idea was worked into concrete fact in Germany forty years afterwards, but did not crystallize into reality in the United States until the latter part of the nineteenth century, more than a century afterwards. Like the "Albany Plan" and his discoveries in electrical science it tends to show that the immortal Pennsylvanian was at least fifty years ahead of the time in which he lived; that he was a strange combination of the broad versatile intellect of the latter part of the Nineteenth century; joined to the sub-

erb physique and vigorous good nature of the middle of the Eighteenth.

If at the age of fifty-one Franklin had retired, or had passed away, he would even then have been regarded as one of the great characters in Colonial history. But now began the second chapter of his career in which he was to achieve national and international fame of the most splendid type. He went over to England as a representative of the Pennsylvania Assembly but was received with the honors due to a brilliant genius and a famous discoverer. The envoy was smaller than the man. Five years were passed in Great Britain (1757-1762) during which he was made a social, literary and political lion.

The question of the taxation of proprietary estates which he argued before the Privy Council was decided in his favor and he was complimented by that body for his erudition and eloquence. Oxford made him an LL.D. and Edinburgh University followed the example. He won the friendship of many of the leading men of England, of whom a large number have left written testimony of their high appreciation of his sterling character and varied accomplishments. So strong were the friendships contracted at this period that they were unaffected by the bitterness and zealotry aroused by the war that was ere long to follow.

In 1762 he returned to Philadelphia, where he was received as a conquering hero. The people flocked to welcome him, the Assembly thanked him in a set of formal resolutions, and the leading men of the Colony vied with one another in extending hospitality to him. He had proved himself so faithful a servant that in 1764, he was again sent to England to argue against the Passage of the Stamp Act. This time, he remained in the Mother Coun-

try for eleven years during which period he was the official agent of Massachusetts, New Jersey and Georgia and actually if not formally the envoy of the Thirteen Colonies. His vast personality soon made him conspicuous in France as well as England. On the one hand he gained the hearts of such men as Edmund Burke, Erasmus Darwin, Lord Shelburne, Lord Howe, David Hartley, and Dr. Priestley. On the other, he incurred the bitter hostility of the Lord North party and the leading courtiers about the throne. Doubtless the highest compliment he received was the warning which George III gave to his ministers against "that crafty American, who was more than a match for you all." This is one of the few evidences of sanity which that extraordinary monarch ever manifested.

Franklin's conduct during this exciting period was characterized by energy and industry, urbanity and wisdom, courage and zeal. His course was difficult. He was unconquerably determined to uphold the rights and liberties of the Colonies and he was opposed to any action which might tend to bring about civil war. Doubtless, he saw that the latter was inevitable and in his heart he knew that every year gained by conciliation and discussion meant increased strength and ability on the part of his fellow countrymen across the sea to make a successful resistance to Great Britain, when the final clash did come.

For although it has been overlooked by most chroniclers, no one knew better than Franklin the rapid growth that was taking place in the New World. The English court looked at the Colonists as a lot of headstrong rebellious Englishmen, who could be put down by a few regiments of soldiers. They did not seem to realize that for sixty years, there had been a steady influx of vigorous young

men and women from the Old World, Scotch from Scotland, Scotch-Irish from the North of Ireland, Palatines from Germany and smaller numbers from Holland, Scandinavia which then included Finland, France and even Spain. Franklin was thoroughly informed upon this topic. He had already figured out with great skill the German element in the population of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey and was apparently the first to call attention to the fact that there was a possibility of Pennsylvania becoming Teutonic rather than Anglo-Saxon in character. He was sneered at, at the time, but after years proved the accuracy of his judgment. He saw that there were already enough stalwart immigrants in America to constitute a formidable army if they could once be organized. This opinion undoubtedly underlaid the conciliatory methods which he practiced during the decade of his career in London. Not until the first shedding of blood did he leave the British Capital, where during the last year of his residence he had been treated with ignominy and insult.

He arrived in Philadelphia May 5, 1775, and within twenty-four hours the Pennsylvania Assembly unanimously elected him a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. In London, he had favored conciliation and peace; in Philadelphia he favored independence and war. He was one of the committee of five which drafted the Declaration of Independence and not long after the adoption of that instrument he was sent as a special envoy to France to secure an alliance with that country against Great Britain. Congress could not have picked out a better man. He had had sixteen years of diplomatic experience. In his leisure hours he had mastered French and gained a good colloquial knowledge of Italian and Spanish. His writings and dis-

coveries were known to every French scholar and he had already made the acquaintanceship and even the friendship of the eminent Frenchmen who frequented the salons of London while he was a resident of that capital. Many of them had enjoyed his hospitality in Craven street, which at one season was the headquarters of the literary lights of both countries.

Mercurial Paris received him with open arms and placed him on a pedestal second only to Voltaire. Turgot said of him, "He tore the lightning from the skies; the sceptre from the tyrant's hand." Diderot, D'Alembert, Condorcet Condillac and the members of the school of thought known as the Encyclopedists pronounced him, "the incarnation of all practical wisdom."

His diplomatic labors form one of the brightest chapters in the history of international negotiations. It is difficult after the lapse of more than a century to realize the dangers and obstacles he encountered. In England, there were really three political tendencies, the one represented by Lord North whose policy was the suppression of the rebellion no matter what the cost; a second headed by Lord Shelburne favored reconciliation or compromise; while a third which had no particular head believed in what was termed justice. In France, the conditions were equally varied. The ministry espoused the American cause from hatred of England and a desire to humiliate and if possible ruin that nation. It is no longer a secret that Vergennes, the French minister and his colleagues, had planned a long, slow and costly war which would injure Great Britain irretrievably; the conversion of Canada, Louisiana and the territory west of the Alleghanies into French territory; the temporary liberation of the Colonies and their eventual absorption into a

New France. For liberty, right and justice they did not care one centime, but they used these as shibboleths, wherewith to curry popular favor both at home and in other European countries.

Spain, then much stronger than in the next century, was an important factor and might under altered circumstances hold the balance of power. Holland had still a considerable Navy, a small but well disciplined Army and was therefore another factor of importance in the game of world politics. How shrewdly Franklin conducted his mission is known and loved by every American heart. In masterly manner, he obtained heavy annual loans from the French treasury, a gift of nine million livres; a guarantee upon a loan of ten million livres to be raised in Holland and the adoption of the Treaty of February 6, 1778, whereby the Armies and Navies of France were moved forward to assist the cause of independence. But for this, the Revolution would have failed and the Colonies been rendered desolate for fifty years.

In 1783, the Treaty of Peace was adopted between England and the colonies and the latter became a new face at the Council table of the nations. In the negotiation of this instrument, Franklin was superbly seconded by Adams and Jay and more especially the latter. It was Jay, who first established satisfactorily the double game which was being played by Vergennes in Paris and Luzerne, the French Minister, at Philadelphia.

Franklin added one more laurel to his crown by negotiating a treaty between the Prussian Kingdom in which was an article favoring the abolition of privateering. This was the first attempt in history made toward the diminution of the horrors of war and the development of morality in the relations between nations.

September, 1785, saw his work finished abroad and him returning to America. Scarcely more than arrived he was chosen Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, and was re-elected in 1786 and 1787. During the last named year he was a delegate to the convention which framed the present Constitution. His final public act was in 1790, when as President of the Anti-Slavery Society, he sent a memorial to Congress entreating for the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves. The slave owners were indignant and their spokesman, General James Jackson of Georgia, made a fiery speech in which he attempted to demonstrate the sanctity of the institution by texts from the Scripture.

Franklin promptly wrote an answer which was published in the National Gazette and was laughed at by the people for many years. It was a parody on Jackson's address even more solemn, stilted and hypocritical put into the mouth of a councilor of the Divan of Algiers and fortified by numerous texts from the Koran. He wrote it within four weeks of his death.

Where great energy is united to perfect health joyousness is the invariable result. The dyspeptic and the anaemic are crabbed and irritable while the great athlete is kindliness incarnate. Franklin's happy spirit was extraordinary. It became suave imperturbability in public life, wit and humor in literary work, fun and nonsense in conversation and correspondence, and gentleness in the social and domestic relations. He is one of the few revolutionary characters who never seems to have lost his temper or to have expressed his wrath in vigorous profanity. His exceeding serenity is manifestly illustrated by the many portraits and descriptions of him which all indicate a happy countenance. In the popular mind, he was regarded as a placid Quaker

on account of that sect being supposed to have no ill nature in its composition. Yet as a matter of fact he was not a Quaker, nor a sectarian of any sort. His views in this respect being about half way between those of a Deist and an Agnostic.

If he had any particular faith it was the religion of good humor. He instinctively saw the funny side of everything. When on one occasion he had arranged to kill a turkey by an electrical current, anticipating the present system of electrocution in New York, he was careless in handling the wires and received a shock which rendered him almost senseless, he summed it up by smiling and saying: "I meant to kill a turkey and instead I nearly killed a goose."

He had a genius for personalities but turned them all against himself. He summed up his practice in this respect in the epigram "Thou canst not joke an enemy into a friend but thou mayst a friend into an enemy."

No man had a keener knowledge of the imperfections of humanity.

To the question of how to obtain a knowledge of a woman's faults and the genuineness of her virtues, Franklin answered,

"Commend her among her female acquaintances."

What could be more felicitous than his description of "Glib tongues who can lie like ten epitaphs."

He pictured a grasping woman in a single sentence,

"Mary's mouth costs her nothing for she never opens it but at others' expense."

There is a world of quiet wit in the declaration,

"He that is of opinion money will do everything may well be suspected of doing everything for money."

The modern epigram of the self-made man who

worshipped his creator is but a variant of Franklin's,

"Who falls in love with himself has no rivals."

Lewis Carroll must have had Poor Richard in his mind's eye when he referred to the onion for it was the latter that said,

"Onions can make e'en heirs and widows weep."

Mark Twain's inimitable exaggeration was forestalled by Franklin in his story of two sailors, who were hauling out a cable. One of them said, "it is a long heavy cable; I wish we could see the end of it." "Damn me," said the other, "if I believe it has any end. Somebody has cut it off."

In his domestic and social relations, he was affectionate and sunny. To his wife, who intellectually was his inferior, but who was a faithful and untiring helpmate, he was warmly devoted. His feeling toward her is well shown in two letters which have been preserved:

"You may think perhaps that I can find many amusements here (England) to pass the time agreeably. It is true the regard and friendship I meet with from persons of worth and the conversation of ingenious men give me no small pleasure; but at this time of life domestic comforts afford the most solid satisfaction, and my uneasiness at being absent from my family, and longing desire to be with them, make me often sigh in the midst of cheerful company."

"My Dear Love: I hoped to have been on the sea in my return by this time; but I find I must stay a few weeks longer, perhaps for the summer ships. Thanks to God I continue well and hearty; and I hope to find you so, when I have the happiness once more of seeing you."

His social genius was extraordinary. In addition to his multifarious talents was his singular power

of adaptability. With diplomats he was a Talleyrand, with scientists a Lavoisier, among literary people his conversation was usually the gem of every assemblage. With women he was gallant, courteous, witty and interesting. He could even adapt himself to sailors, peasants, children and slaves, but no matter how serious the situation or even inappropriate the time and place his humor bubbled up forever. To a clergyman, who complained of non-attendance at his church Franklin suggested "that if he would serve liquid refreshments after prayers the church would be crowded." When told that in Congress he and his friends "must hang together," he answered quickly "or else be hanged separately." When asked what was the most serious duty of a Congressman, he answered that it was "to keep silent. He that speaks much is much mistaken."

About the best specimen of his humorous fancy was the epitaph, he composed for his own tombstone:

"The Body
of
Benjamin Franklin,
Printer,
(Like the Cover of an Old Book
its contents torn out,
and stripped of its lettering and gilding),
lies here, food for worms;
yet the work itself shall not be lost,
for it will (as he believed) appear once more
in a new
and more beautiful edition,
corrected and amended
by
the author."

Sometimes his wit rose up into high philosophy. General Sherman's declaration that "war is hell," may have been more forcible but was not so pregnant as Franklin's statement that, "there never was a good war nor a bad peace."

He summed up scientific utilitarianism in the simple question,

"What signifies philosophy that does not apply to some use?"

To Benjamin Franklin the nation owes an eternal debt of gratitude. He was a patriot, who gave himself to public service in the darkest hours of the commonwealth and who strove valiantly and untiringly, not in the battlefield where fame and glory offer their enchanting mirage, but in the council chamber and the cabinet. He seems to have had no ambition but to use his own phrase "to be of some use." Despite his commanding talents, he was modest, and neither sought praise nor reward nor looked down upon others less gifted than himself. He was a typical democrat and measured men by their personalities and not by the accidents of birth, title, rank, office or wealth. Essentially a lover of his fellow man, he never allowed difference to become rancor or opposition to become enmity. He was on friendly terms with every sect and upon his recommendation his friend, Rev. John Carroll, was appointed the first Roman Catholic Bishop of America.

He perceived the instinctive craving of man for religion and while he had no particular faith himself, he did not employ analogy to shake the faith of others. On the contrary he opposed Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" upon the ground that the book would do no good in destroying faith of those, whose conduct was based upon that faith, and would

doubtless do harm to others whose evil tendencies were controlled by their religious beliefs alone.

His was the first name in American literature and the excellence of his workmanship impressed itself upon every nation in Europe. To him, American education owes its first impetus toward scientific research. His own investigations exerted considerable influence, while even more powerful was the result of his friendship with the great leaders of advanced thought in England and France.

Most of the great men of his time were characterized by or possessed an intangible suggestion of the place to which they belong. Unconsciously we refer to Jefferson as of Virginia, Hamilton as of New York and Adams as of Massachusetts, but Franklin brings up, not a colony nor a State, but an entire Continent. He was the great American!

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Born, April 2, 1743; Died, July 4, 1826.

Of all the great men of the Revolution, Thomas Jefferson was the best incarnation of the American character. Its virtues and defects, its energy and iconoclasm, its egotism and common sense, its reckless waste of energy and its matchless power of achievement found in him a perfect exemplification. Born in 1743, he inherited more than ordinary sterling virtues from both lines of descent. His father, Peter Jefferson, possessed a herculean physique, a love of literature, a talent for mathematics, agriculture and public affairs. His mother, Jane Randolph, was a good type of the women of her period, being beautiful, well-bred, accomplished, a skillful housewife and careful business manager.

The characteristics of both parents appeared in the son, making him exceptionally well rounded, a virtue which has both advantages and disadvantages. His father was wealthy and the broad estate of Shadwell in Albemarle County, Virginia, where he first saw the light, gave ample opportunity for the full development of his powers, physical and mental. Educated at William and Mary College, he made his mark there for tireless industry, high scholarship and unusual versatility. Like Washington, he was a natural athlete and from childhood took a deep delight in open air exercise. When a mere boy he was skillful in woodcraft and at the age of twelve could swim a river upon his horse as well as an ex-

pert cavalryman. In walking, running and jumping, climbing, swimming and diving, in dancing and open-air sports he was a leader among the young men of his neighborhood. While Washington bears the reputation of having been the great athlete of the Revolutionary leaders, it may be questioned if in an all-round contest he would not have been found inferior to the great Jefferson. To this superb physical development may be ascribed Jefferson's extraordinary power of work. No man ever led a more strenuous life and none could have performed what he achieved without a body whose muscles and nerves were of the highest excellence.

Frequently in mature life he would write fourteen and even sixteen hours a day and at the end of his labor would not complain of fatigue, but on the contrary be ready to engage in a discussion upon science, art, the classics, politics or geology.

He became a lawyer when twenty-four years of age and soon distinguished himself as practitioner and advocate. Up to this time the personality of the man had not been disclosed. Of a hundred young Virginians he was simply a trifle stronger and a little better informed than the rest. Yet shrewd observers had noticed qualities which did not appear upon the surface. The neighbors declared "Thomas Jefferson is more inquisitive than a New Englander." The slaves of Albermarle County said "Mr. Tom Jefferson knows more than anybody in the world," and a few intimate friends insisted that beneath his reticence was a power of thought and expression so marked as to astonish them even when applied to the most trivial topics. Like wealthy young men of his time, he entered public life on coming of age, being then appointed vestryman and Justice of the Peace.

When twenty-six years of age, he was elected to the House of Burgesses. His first step was in keeping with his character and might be imitated by every public man today. It was a resolution which he made "never to engage while in public office in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of my fortune."

The session of the legislature was a brief one, lasting five days, but in this short period Jefferson showed his opinions in a way which left no doubt in the minds of the public as to his independence, love of liberty and fearless opposition to wrongful precedent and tradition. He spoke and voted in favor of the four resolutions, respecting taxation, representation and colonial co-operation, which were denounced by the ultra-royalists as treason. In addition to this he made a strong argument favoring the repeal of the colonial statute which obliged an owner freeing slaves to send them out of the colony. The two actions taken together throw a clear light upon his character. In each, he was a radical of radicals. In the former, he incurred the enmity of the Crown, but gained the amity of the Colonists; in the latter, he alienated the affections of the slave-owning caste which was his own and gained the good will of an insignificant few. The former was good politics, the latter was the worst possible as a matter of mere expediency. The young man struck at tyranny from without and also from within.

Even at that time he realized, though it may have been in but a vague way, that there might be as much tyranny under the form or in the name of liberty as under the iron rule of monarchy.

The next six years were devoted to the hardest study and work. It may be that the man had some premonition of what the Future held in store for him

and prepared himself accordingly. Beside attending to his vast farm and law practice, he set aside so many hours a day for study, making, it would seem, special topics of parliamentary law, statutory reform, military science, invention and discovery as applied to daily life, national and international jurisprudence, literature and composition. So symmetrically in other respects, he was strangely deficient in two qualities, the poetic and humorous. He wrote excellent verse but as he smilingly admitted, "It was entirely free from the Divine Afflatus," while to wit and fun, he appears to have been almost insensible. This poetic deficiency extended into the realm of music. Upon the violin he played with rare mechanical exactness but without any soul whatever. To this fact was due the witticism, "that Patrick Henry was the only thing which prevented Thomas Jefferson from being the worst fiddler in the world."

In this period rumblings of the coming war were heard and the minds of the Virginians were turned almost exclusively to political discussion. While Jefferson did not neglect his other duties to bestow much time upon public affairs, he preserved no discreet silence as to his own convictions. In every question, he was against the Crown and for the Colonies.

In March, 1775, he was sent to Richmond as a delegate to the convention which met in that city to consider what action the colonies should take. While the tone of the proceedings was conventional it was almost radical in its sentiments toward liberty and independence. Among other things done was the appointment of a committee including Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and Benjamin Harrison which should place the peo-

ple of Virginia upon a military footing. The last act of the Convention was to appoint Jefferson an alternate to the Continental Congress to fill any vacancy that might occur in the delegation. The forethought was wise as a vacancy occurred not long after and Jefferson immediately took his seat in the body at Philadelphia on June 1st, 1775.

His industry and study now made him invaluable to the other colonial leaders. Though a poor speaker on the floor of the House he was an unrivalled committeeman. Every reference to him at that time praises his ability in high terms and pays tribute as well to his fascinating conversation in the lobby and the salon. So admirable was his record that upon his return to Virginia, he was re-elected a delegate, being the third of the seven chosen to represent the colony. His fame had gone abroad so that he and Washington were now the two recognized leaders of Virginia.

On June 10, 1776, he was made chairman of the committee of five which drafted the Declaration of Independence, his colleagues being four men of the same tremendous personality as himself, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, John Adams, and Robert R. Livingston. There was much business on hand and after the committee had outlined their opinions, they requested their chairman to compose the resolution to be offered which he did, it is said, in the lodging he occupied. The proposed declaration occasioned hot comment and debate. The discussion consumed three days, July 2, 3 and 4, 1776. The original document was revised and amended, but in the main left as Jefferson penned it. It was finally passed, the vote being accelerated according to Jefferson by the extreme heat of the afternoon and the merciless onslaught of a cloud of flies which invaded

Assembly Hall. Shortly afterwards, he was appointed upon the committee to select a motto for the new Republic and to him probably more than any other members is due the choice of what Congress adopted, "E Pluribus Unum."

That his conduct in Congress had pleased his constituency was evidenced by their electing him in his absence a member of the Virginia legislature. To the surprise of many, he resigned his delegateship and returned to Virginia to enter upon the duties of his new office. The action was worthy of the man. The Mother of Presidents was at that time more tied and bound by red tape and ancient laws than any other colony. Jefferson had determined to reform its legal, political and ecclesiastical conditions and took advantage of the opportunity which was presented to him. In the three years' fight which followed, he played a heroic part, subordinating all interests that were opposed to his conceptions of progress and of right. Among the changes for which he struggled and which he carried through in this period or which were finished in the following six years were the abolition of entail, primogeniture, tithes, ecclesiastical jurisdictions, the old common-law system of courts and procedure, the status of citizenship and the so-called Blue Laws as to minor offenses. In these matters, he was more than an iconoclast, he was also a preserver. Up to his time no care had been bestowed upon the matter of statutes and precedents and no work contained the laws of the colony. Jefferson from the time he began study for the bar up to his election had devoted much time to compiling the ancient records and to him was due their preservation from oblivion. This knowledge made him more than a match for conservative legislators who opposed his views. When a

man who was arguing against a law was compelled to appeal to his opponent for the text which he was defending, it made a situation whose very incongruity refuted the best argument which could be made.

Some of these ancient statutes were veritable curiosities of feudal antiquity. Thus one set of laws were founded upon the Biblical doctrine of an eye and a tooth for a tooth authorizing and directing the Sheriff to inflict these hideous punishments when ever so commanded by the Court. Some of the reforms antagonized the ultra-clerical element of the Colony. He abolished primogeniture and so aroused the enmity of the landed aristocracy. He led a magnificent and successful fight against ecclesiastical oppression and established absolute religious freedom in the Commonwealth. While much credit is due to his colleagues, more especially Francis Lightfoot Lee, George Wythe, and George Mason, upon himself devolved the brunt of the battle.

In 1779, he was elected Governor of the State, a position which made the next two years the busiest and most exciting of his life. Besides performing his gubernatorial duties, he was obliged as Commander-in-Chief of the Colony to keep up both the men and the resources of the Virginia regiments in the Continental army. The State was poor and oftentimes he was compelled to draw upon his own private fortune. In addition, General Washington and Congress drew upon him for supplies for General Gates, then conducting a campaign in the South. He was obliged to assist in a defensive campaign against the Indians on the West, and had to care for and guard the British and Hessian prisoners of war, who were consigned to him or to Virginia by their captors. This was enough to break down any gov-

error, but more was to follow. A British expedition under the command of Benedict Arnold invaded Virginia and captured Richmond, but Jefferson's terrific energy had prepared for even this contingency. The militia came trooping in from every quarter, and Arnold, after holding the city twenty-three hours, beat a hasty retreat to his vessels and sailed down the James, escaping capture only by a strong breeze which sprung up and enabled him to get beyond the range of the Virginia marksmen. Four times in 1781 the Virginia governor had to run away from the capital upon the approach of British armies.

He was re-elected governor in 1780, but declined a third term. In 1781 he was sent back to Congress. The honor was repeated two years afterward, when he rendered invaluable services to the nation as chairman of the Committee on Currency. The primary form of the present monetary system was devised by Gouverneur Morris of New York, but was cumbrous in some of its details. Jefferson's keen common sense saw the faults of the new plan, struck them out and offered to the representatives of the nation the decimal system of mills, cents, dimes, dollars and eagles which has ever since been employed by the country. It is a great pity that his views in these matters could not have been adopted in whole rather than in part. He urged with great eloquence the application of the decimal method to weights and measures, but was too far ahead of his time. His ideas were voted down only to come up again in the first decade of the Twentieth Century.

In 1784 he was a Joint Envoy to France, where he joined Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. The following year he was made sole Minister Plenipotentiary to that kingdom. In the discharge of his

diplomatic duties, he introduced what was then a novel departure. From the legation he sent circular communications to the American colleges respecting the new inventions, discoveries, processes and books of Europe, and to various farms and friends, he sent seeds, roots, and nuts for agricultural experiment and trial at home. For the planters of South Carolina, he procured with the greatest difficulty a large amount of Italian rice, which was then considered the best in the world. The Italian government prohibited its exportation, but Jefferson succeeded after many fruitless attempts in getting a quantity across the frontier and forwarding it to the United States. From this seed came the famous South Carolina staple which has been a standard ever since.

In September, 1789, he was appointed Secretary of State, and the following March entered upon the duties of his office. His colleagues were Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Knox, Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph, Attorney General.

It was here that the differences began which were to develop into the great political parties of the United States. Jefferson had lived four years in France and had seen the evils and monstrosities of monarchical government. He had gone down among the common people, studied them as critically as he had studied books in his younger life and had come to understand their nature. These four years had made him an unchangeable foe to all monarchical government and a deep lover of the common people. Hamilton on the other hand had from the time of his coming to America, when a mere boy, been the associate of the best classes in American society. He was what was called an aristocrat, who

believed in a strong if not a monarchical government, and had a distrust of popular suffrage. Knox, a man cast in a military mold shared Hamilton's sentiments, so that the Cabinet was hopelessly divided in its opinions respecting the very cornerstone of American institutions. Their differences increased so rapidly, that each desired to resign office ere a few months had passed, and only the wonderful tact and suavity of Washington kept the Cabinet from going to pieces. In January, 1794, Jefferson resigned and went back to his farm at Monticello. He was embittered with public life and declared that nothing would tempt him to accept office. But without knowing it, the knowledge of his opinions had gone abroad and he had become an idol in the hearts of his fellow countrymen. In 1796, to his surprise, he was almost elected President, John Adams receiving seventy-one electoral votes, and he sixty-eight, which under the law made him Vice-President.

His incumbency was a happy chapter of his life. On account of his political opinions, he was left out of the President's councils, and was therefore able to give his time to study and to taking part in the proceedings of the Philosophical Society, then the only large learned organization in the New World. Here, he startled those who had merely known him as a lawyer and legislator by his marvelous memory, quick perceptions and universal culture. He spoke on every subject, and was a recognized authority in nearly every field of thought. By his work in these sessions, he won the admiration of a class which he might never otherwise have gained. No other man prominent in political life, excepting Franklin, had his tastes in this regard, so that his prestige in the Philosophical Society was altogether unique.

During this period he compiled his famous Manu-

al of Parliamentary Law and Practice, which has been an authority ever since in countries which employ representative government. The Presidential election of 1800 was a peaceful revolution. The Federalist or Republican party went down to defeat, never to rise again, and the new Republican party became the governing force of the nation. Jefferson was elected President. His eight years in office, for he was re-elected at the expiration of his first term, constitute one of the great chapters in the history of the Republic. Its first feature was the adoption of an almost Spartan simplicity in the conduct of the executive.

For his guiding principle he adopted the rule of refusal to receive any attention or compliment that would not have been paid to him as a private citizen. He especially avoided anything that savored of monarchy or class distinction. Perhaps he went too far. He certainly obtained for this country a bad name for official manners and etiquette, and started hundreds of funny stories told at the expense of American statesmen, some of which are still related abroad to this very day. Yet even if he did, it was a blessing in disguise. It made pageantry, useless form and ceremony ridiculous in the eyes of the people and established a precedent which has been kept up to the present time. Yet one can well wish that he had not received the proud ambassadors of Europe with shabby clothes and run-down slippers, and that he had not wandered around his residence and grounds attired in the comfortable but not altogether elegant style of a Virginia planter walking through his fields.

The second feature was the suppression of the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean by Decatur and the other heroes of his squadron. Third and

greatest of all was the Louisiana Purchase. The vastness of this transaction was surpassed only by his plans in 1807, which were never however carried into execution. At that time he proposed a scheme for removing the Spanish flag from the Western world by annexing Florida, Mexico and Cuba. He said that Spain's existence in the New World was an anachronism, and that her ensign would by the very nature of things be taken down ere many years had rolled by. His opinion was prophetic, and was confirmed long afterwards by the independence of Mexico and the Spanish-American war of 1808.

He retired from office in 1809, at sixty-six years of age. The latter part of his life was as active as any other. Its main work was the establishment of the public school system in his state, and the foundation of the University of Virginia. Working with a zeal which nothing could discourage, he achieved some results, but nothing in comparison with his ideals. Though a Virginian, and loved by the Virginians, he really belonged to the present century and not to the beginning of the Nineteenth. The public school system, which he intended should surpass those of the New England and Middle States, was started upon a weak basis, and never received the support which it deserved and which Jefferson declared to be indispensable for universal education. The noble university of his dreams found a poor realization in an institution to which the legislature doled out \$15,000 a year.

In private life, Jefferson was singularly sweet, kindly and generous. Though born to great wealth, he died almost in destitution through the sacrifices he made for the nation and through his life-long altruism. Though a careful business man, he never allowed commercialism to influence his heart. To

those who needed, he gave freely, even when it meant deprivation to himself. Belonging to an age where conviviality was universal and the sexual code not observed with excessive zeal, he was temperate in his drinking and remarkably good morally. Moral standards have changed, and it would be unfair to measure the men of the Eighteenth century by the canons of the Twentieth. Estimated by the rules of his own time he towered above the community. To the very end, he preserved a strong love for children, and took or made believe take an interest in all that concerned them. His letters and reported conversations with his children and grandchildren, and with the little folks of his neighborhood wherever he lived, show him to have had a heart as warm and caressing as that of a mother.

He had high ideals of womanhood, and was a staunch advocate of girls' training, intellectual and physical as well as moral and social. Every woman he claimed should walk and dance systematically every day in order to develop health, strength and vigor as well as grace and beauty. She should study and master not only English, but French and classic literatures, in order to be in touch with the great world around her. In his love making Thomas Jefferson was a singular combination of shyness and egotism. He indulged in sentiment, but it was not the sentiment of morbidity so much as of fun, or deliberate nonsense. To one young lady who was quite pretty, and who seemed to look upon him with eyes of favor he told his love, but added, "I cannot engage myself because it will interfere with my studies and my plans for a trip to Europe, but it might be well for you to wait, because when I get back from abroad I will resume the suit openly."

He burned incense upon the altars of at least

eight Virginia belles before he met his fate. This was Mrs. Martha Wayles Skelton, daughter of a wealthy lawyer, and a noted belle and musician. His courtship seems to have been a long one, lasting at least one year and a half and probably two years. The youthful widow undoubtedly liked him from the first, but with a woman's instinct played with him until she got tired. She was a brilliant conversationalist and thoroughly informed upon current events. She met him squarely upon the intellectual plane, and in addition their musical tastes were very similar. Much of their courtship found expression in duets, she playing upon the spinet and he upon the fiddle which was so heartily detested by his friends. Some of his rivals declared that he carried his fiddle to the widow's house to protect him from all competition in love, so no ordinary man could stand his execrable playing for more than a half hour. According to tradition the pretty widow was so zealous a musician that whenever Jefferson played out of tune, she would rise from the spinet and box his ears. This so pleased the admiring young lawyer that after the first punishment he flattered with great regularity thereafter in order to receive chastisement anew. Beneath his composure there was much nervousness, as was evidenced by the fact that in writing the marriage license bond he described his future wife as a spinster!

Their married life proved very happy, but was brief in duration, lasting but ten years. There were six children, all girls, of whom Martha the first and Mary the fourth survived infancy.

For an epitaph on his wife's tomb, he wrote the following:

To the Memory of Martha Jefferson
Daughter of John Wayles
Born October 19th, 1748 O. S.;
Intermarried with Thomas Jefferson January 1st,
1772; Torn from him by Death
September 6th, 1782;

"If in the melancholy shades below
The flames of friends and lovers cease to glow
Yet mine shall sacred last; mine undecayed
Burn on through death and animate my shade."

Jefferson died July 4, 1826, at almost the same hour as his friend and colleague John Adams, and just fifty years after the Declaration of Independence.

Congress has erected a shaft over his grave at Monticello. A better and grander monument is the University of Virginia. But the greatest of his monuments, the one which will last when the shaft has crumbled away and the university has given place to other institutions of learning, is the Louisiana Purchase, already the seat of a mighty people and destined to be a commonwealth whose power and splendor will go down through centuries to come.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Born, January 11, 1757; Died, July 12, 1804.

A long line of Scotch soldiers of noble blood blended with one of fearless Huguenot zealots in the Island of Nevis of the West Indies to form Alexander Hamilton. In 1757, these islands offered no field for either martial genius or religious enthusiasm. The eyes of the babe opened upon a rich, tropical landscape rather than upon camp and court, and about his cradle were none of the fierce bickerings which had marked the religious conditions of France in former years.

So far as environment was concerned, the place tended to develop bucolic ease rather than ambition or energy. In this child's case, heredity was stronger than environment. The indomitable will of the Scotchman and the precocious talent of the Frenchman expressed themselves in his growth from the very first. His family was poor, his father being an unsuccessful business man, and the educational facilities of the place were very limited. Yet the boy seems to have taken advantage of every opportunity and to have acquired a learning by the time he was twelve years old which made him the mental equal of many grown men.

Letters written when he was thirteen, have been preserved, which in style and diction might have been composed by sober college professors. He had of course the rare advantage of well bred parents which is an education in itself. To them, rather

than to any school was undoubtedly due his power of expression in both English and French. From a Jewess, who kept a small school, he obtained some knowledge of Hebrew, enough at least to make him a nine days' wonder to the community. This fact in itself amounts to but little. A knowledge of Hebrew in those days was confined almost exclusively to members of the Jewish race. That he knew enough of the language to excite comment evidences a linguistic talent more than ordinary.

At twelve, adversity compelled him to earn his own livelihood. He became the clerk in the counting house of Nicholas Cruger, a wealthy merchant doing business in New York and St. Croix in the West Indies, who belonged to a distinguished New York colonial family. The merchant and the senior clerks took a friendly interest in their new employe.

At this time, and for several years afterwards, he must have been an odd specimen of boyhood. Small, slender and rather weakly in appearance, he was so handsome and yet so old-fashioned as to attract notice. Both his conversation and letters were a trifle pedantic, and only when he was aroused did his impetuosity and strong mental power become manifest. Some of his letters written at this period have been preserved and throw a curious light upon his unfolding character. They show him to have been ambitious, upright, patient, quick to learn and ever eager for some opportunity through which he might get ahead in the race of life. At one time he seems to have looked forward to becoming a great merchant and making a fortune; at another his Scotch ancestry cropped out and he pictured himself as carving a way to fame and fortune with the sword; while on still another occasion, he gave ut-

terance to a vague desire to win laurels in the realm of statesmanship. The two latter aims were prophetic. The boy was to make himself one of the immortals in both war and statecraft, but was never to obtain the magical touch of Midas.

He was a faithful clerk, and by the time he was fourteen years old took charge of the business in the absence of his superiors. Commercial life in the tropics was very quiet in the Eighteenth century. At times there would be a rush of business, and then again for days there would be little or nothing to do. Most men take advantage of this alternation for purposes of diversion, but young Hamilton apparently utilized it for study, and literary work. During this time, he read carefully in English, French and classical works, and now and then attempted original composition.

By degrees these unusual habits were brought to the notice of influential citizens and when he was fifteen, some friends and relatives raised a small fund and sent him to the American colonies, where they hoped the boy would be able to better himself. He came to Boston in October, 1772, and traveled thence to New York, where he was entertained by eminent citizens to whom he had brought letters of introduction from the Rev. Dr. Hugh Knox. Through the good offices of his new found friends, he was enabled to enter the famous school of Francis Barber at Elizabeth, N. J., and to have a home at "Liberty Hall," the residence of William Livingston, the fighting Governor of New Jersey during the Revolution. The latter fact must have exercised a profound influence upon his after life. Livingston himself was a man of commanding personality and his hospitable home was the headquarters of the brightest intellects of New York and New Jer-

sey. Despite his youth, the boy was soon on good terms with his seniors, all of whom seem to have taken a deep fancy to him. In his studies he worked with tireless energy so that in two years he was ready for college. He intended to matriculate at Princeton, but on account of some arbitrary features of its curriculum, he entered King's College, now Columbia University, in the winter of 1774. In his class were James de Peyster and Edward C. Moncrieff. In the classes above him were Samuel Auchmuty, who became a general in the British army, Richard Auchmuty afterwards a British surgeon, Samuel Bayard, John William Livingston and Jacobus Remsen.

Of the forty odd students that were then enrolled in Columbia, more than one-half were to play parts in the Revolution. Before the war broke out college feeling was as much Tory as Revolutionary, but with the beginning of hostilities a majority of the students took sides with the people against the Crown.

Hamilton was not one of those who changed. From the very first he espoused the cause of liberty, and was outspoken in his sentiments. Yet he was no demagogue. When in May, 1775, a mob broke into the campus intending to harm if not to kill the Rev. Myles Cooper, President of the College, Hamilton was the first to spring upon the college steps and make a spirited protest against the contemplated outrage. Aided by Robert Troup, who had been graduated the year before, he held the mob back by his eloquence, wit and audacity, until the worthy president had escaped from a rear window, attired in the spectral garments of the night.

In April, 1776, the College was transformed into military quarters by the Committee of Safety, and

Hamilton and his sixteen colleagues were compelled to relinquish their studies.

His political career had begun before this time. In July, 1774, at a mass meeting held in "The Fields" whose object was to protest against the attitude of the Tory majority in the Assembly, Hamilton made his maiden speech. He was not upon the programme of the day, but was so interested in the affairs of the time, that when there came a pause in the speaking he stepped forward and addressed the great throng in front of him. The sound of his own voice made him nervous at first, but the discomposure wore away, and for twenty-five minutes he held his hearers spellbound. He spoke clearly, logically, and above all with a force and earnestness which commanded attention and respect. When he closed, he was cheered to the echo. In the fall of that year Hamilton wrote two tracts in reply to Tory publications which had attacked Congress and its measures. Tracts were a favorite weapon of controversy in those days and Hamilton's work was so clever as to win the applause of all the Colonial leaders of the city. What increased his reputation was the anonymity of the publications. For several weeks, people were guessing as to the authorship, and ascribing this to various popular leaders. The disclosure that they were written by a heretofore unknown author, and that this author was but seventeen years of age, made the young man the cynosure of all eyes.

In 1775-1776, Hamilton devoted all his leisure time to revolutionary work. He saw the power of the press even in those days, when four pages were the limit of a publication, and contributed editorials, essays and letters of admirable quality. He spoke at many public meetings, took up the study of military

science, and foreseeing that war was inevitable, he joined a company commanded by Major Fleming. His hard work brought fruit, sooner if possible, than he expected.

In the spring of 1776, the New York Convention decreed the establishment of an artillery company. Among the applicants for the command was Hamilton. His popularity and literary skill made him the favorite choice of the appointing power, but his competitors declared that he did not possess sufficient knowledge for the position. An examination was held and Hamilton, owing to his studies and his work under Major Fleming passed successfully. He recruited the company to its full complement, and in equipping it he spent all the money he had in the world, even a small remittance which he had just received from Nevis. Many of the volunteer officers of that time treated war very much as if it were a parade, but Hamilton fell into no such error. He drilled his men early and late, and would have been voted a martinet within a fortnight but for his unfailing good humor, high spirits and charming courtesy. In three weeks his company showed the result of continuous drilling. Shortly afterwards, when General Greene arrived to inspect the troops, he was so impressed with the soldierly qualities of the command, that he complimented Hamilton and introduced him to George Washington, with a special recommendation. Thus began the friendship between the two men which was to exert so powerful an influence upon the young collegian's future. The campaign opened, and Hamilton first smelled powder at the Battle of Long Island. Here he covered the American retreat in so able a manner as to win praises from his seniors. At White Plains he again won laurels, and aroused Washington's ad-

miration by offering to lead a storming party and recapture Fort Washington.

Participating in the Trenton and Princeton campaign he showed such gallantry, that in March, 1777, when little more than twenty years old, he was an aide-de-camp with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

He served until February, 1781, when he resigned. Retaining his commission, he again entered the field and took part in the Battle of Yorktown on the 14th of October, 1781, carrying the British redoubts at the point of the bayonet at the head of a regiment of light infantry. After the surrender of Cornwallis, he resigned his commission. In 1798, however, when troubles with France were brewing, and a large army was authorized with Washington as General-in-Chief, Hamilton was appointed Inspector-General with the rank of Major-General, at Washington's request. Upon Hamilton devolved the task of organizing the army, which duty he performed with prudence and zeal. When Washington died in 1799, he was made commander. As the clouds of war passed from view, the army was disbanded and Hamilton closed his martial career.

Of equal importance with his record as a soldier in the Revolution was his management of Washington's correspondence. The two men made a remarkable combination. Washington was characterized by strong common sense, clearness of judgment and rare urbanity, Hamilton, by a brilliant imagination, a keen sense of the value of words and an insatiable love for work. Enough of the correspondence has been preserved to make us wonder how one man could have done so much. He took seemingly as great a care in answering the letter of a poor widow or an offended farmer as in com-

municating with the leaders in Congress. He aided Washington in drawing the latter's more important papers and more especially his proclamations. He certainly assisted in writing many addresses. He was in every sense Washington's right hand man. The four years in which he acted as aide-de-camp were an education of the highest type. Critics have noticed the steady improvement in Hamilton's correspondence during that period. His associates were the generals and the ablest men of the army, and among his correspondents were nearly all the national leaders.

His mastery of French made him the idol of the officers under Lafayette and Rochambeau. The activity of the young man's intellect was extraordinary. When only twenty-three years of age, he wrote a letter to Robert Morris upon national finances, which might be added to the text books of modern financial science. Even at that early period, he evinced a general knowledge and a perception of the great principles underlying government and social organization, which were equal if not superior to those of the statesmen of the time.

In the dark days of the Revolution he never despaired, but looked forward with absolute confidence to the establishing of a new government and a new civilization upon this continent, and had already begun to formulate the best lines of growth for the unborn nation.

His greatest triumph occurred in 1780 when he wooed and won Elizabeth Schuyler, daughter of General Philip Schuyler.

The Schuylers were among the landed aristocracy of New York, and the general was one of the commanding figures of the epoch. The union was as happy as it was wise. The bride had received the

best education which women could obtain in those years, and in addition to this had had the invaluable assistance of her parents, who were people of culture, in her studies and reading. The comments which have come down from that period describe her as having been second only to Theodosia Burr in intellectuality and attractiveness. The attachment between the two lasted to the end of his life, and found expression in some of the most beautiful love letters extant. The love making occurred at Morristown when that place was under martial law and many delightful stories are treasured by the family of how Hamilton went about from day to day in a happy daze. On one occasion, it is said, he walked into a stream not far from the main road, and on another he forgot the pass word and countersign which he had given out himself a few hours previously. The young lover was held up at midnight at the point of the bayonet by a sentry and compelled to wait until relieved by a small boy, the son of a dear friend to whom he had given the countersign earlier in the evening. Even then, to his disgust, the sentry required a few minutes in order to satisfy himself that this extraordinary mode of procedure was permissible under camp rules.

After the victory of Yorktown he took up the study of the law, and by working with characteristic energy, he managed to prepare himself so well that in the summer of 1782 he passed his examination and was-admitted to the bar.

Hamilton was a jurist rather than a lawyer. He cared little for technicalities, and founded his entire mental system upon clear logic and accurate generalization. In practice, there were many members of the bar, who perhaps surpassed him in technical knowledge, but when it came to jurisprudence, mat-

ters of public policy, equity and the construction and interpretation of statutes, he was easily one of the best lawyers in the Empire city. Had Hamilton devoted himself exclusively to the legal profession, he would have won fame as he did in statesmanship, but the country had greater need for his genius in other fields than at the bar. His high talents caused offices to seek him. In June 1782, Robert Morris appointed him Receiver of Taxes for New York. In the same year the legislature elected him a member of Congress.

Between 1783 and 1787, Hamilton fought manfully against the bitter proscriptive tendencies which had been adopted against the Tories. At one time it looked as if the Colonies were about to start on a career similar to that which has disgraced the South American republics and made civilization so slow and incomplete in the Spanish-American lands. Against this tendency Hamilton fought with all his ability and fire. He incurred the enmity of the mob and of the demagogues whose position was that of the people they desired to lead. But he won the esteem of the thoughtful and upright, and by degrees he converted many who had opposed his opinions. This part of his career is too often overlooked in the splendor of his military achievements and his political triumphs, but after all it may be questioned if his work along these lines was not of as much benefit to the Republic as his services in the field and forum. In 1786, he took up the memorable struggle of good government against anarchy. The outlook at the time was pitiable in the extreme. The thirteen colonies had degenerated into thirteen bankrupt and discredited communities. The tendency toward liberty had been carried to the extreme. It had passed into home rule, thence into individualism,

and even to separatism. In every State there were symptoms of rupture into still smaller political units, and at many points men had begun to arm themselves for their own protection against their neighbors. The tendency for the time being was toward a chaos similar to that which occurred after the collapse of the Roman Empire.

Hamilton attacked these conditions with almost irresistible fury. He devoted enough of his time to the law to supply the immediate wants of his family, and all the rest of his energy and thought he gave to his people.

He carried on a campaign that was local, state and national all at once. By correspondence, by powerful articles to the press, by political councils and by public orations, he began to stir up the country in a manner which soon made his name familiar to every household. It may be that the dislike and disgust which the anarchistic conditions had produced in his mind had as a matter of reaction made him too firm a believer in strong government. At any rate he soon became the national representative of government by the iron hand and utterly opposed to all the other schools, of whom General George Clinton and John Hancock were prominent exponents.

The form of government which he had in mind was an aristocratic or oligarchic republic rather than a democracy. Cavil as much as we may, he undoubtedly believed in a government based on property rights, or else confined to electors with property qualifications. He did not, it would seem, have faith in the common people, and judging from the experience of the country at that time there was no *raison d'être* for such faith.

Neither did he believe in State rights or State

sovereignty. Under his plan the States would have borne the same relation to the Nation as the British shires to the Crown. It was in fact the British Constitution modified to suit American conditions, and colored and perhaps improved by Hamilton's own personal genius.

How far Hamilton believed in all his extreme theories may be questioned. He had a deep knowledge of human nature, and he realized that among the leaders of the people there were very few who had the courage of their convictions. By going to the extreme as he did he raised the conceptions, of his fellow citizens and familiarized them with ideas, which they themselves would not have dared to formulate. With the vigor of a strong man, he seized the wild beast of anarchy by the throat and taught the other leaders of the land that the creature was dreadful only when left alone to pursue its own free will.

He brought home to everybody the necessity of checks in popular government to prevent the injury occasioned by sudden waves of public feeling. While his system was not adopted; while it could not have been adopted,—many of the principles which it expressed were adopted and became the skeleton of the American Republic.

It was during this giant struggle that he, assisted by Madison and Jay, wrote the great series of essays known as *The Federalist*,—essays which from either a literary, legal or political aspect will always be regarded as among the masterpieces of the English tongue. They were the best chapters in the literature of the period. The newspapers of the day teemed with carefully written articles upon the same topics, and the printing presses turned out broadsides and pamphlets by hundreds. All of these

are forgotten while *The Federalist* remains today undimmed and unimpaired.

In the New York campaign, which followed the Constitutional convention, Hamilton seems to have been everywhere and everybody. His work in this contest can never be exaggerated. The people of New York were opposed to the new Constitution, the politicians were against it, and the task of inducing the Empire State to adopt the new instrument seemed hopeless. The Constitutional convention at the beginning was nearly two-thirds against the proposed measure. Yet in face of all these odds, Hamilton led his forces to victory. He threw himself into the fight body, mind and soul and by a display of oratory, parliamentary skill, personal magnetism, tact and judgment he overcame opposition and had the Convention adopt the Constitution by a majority of three. While New York at that time was but the fourth State of the Union, nevertheless its refusal to ratify would have continued and probably increased the disorganization which prevailed throughout the land. Things would have gone from bad to worse, and the only hope would have been in a dictator with an army. The change from lawlessness to order,—from anarchy to good government was due more to Alexander Hamilton than to any other single man in the Thirteen Colonies.

Under the new Constitution, Washington was elected President of the United States, and in September of 1789, he appointed Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury. He was but thirty-two years old, his family was growing up, his law business had begun to flourish and every material inducement was for him to remain at the bar and decline the position, whose salary was only \$3,500 a year. Never-

theless his patriotism induced him to accept the offer promptly.

Hamilton's administration of the Treasury is one of the noblest chapters in American history. If his policy had any fault, that fault lay in its being ahead of the time. He recommended the decimal system and applied it to our money. He advocated a national bank, and in arguing its constitutionality, displayed almost as much ability as did Chief Justice Marshall afterwards. He urged a fiscal policy which should aid home manufacturers, and in this way he called the father of the protective tariff. He took the strongest ground for upholding the national credit and honor, and advocated many methods which after years have proven to be feasible and wise. When he resigned from the Treasury in 1795, the national credit was upon a firm basis, and in every direction prosperity was manifested. He resumed the practice of the law, and in a few months his practice was upon the old basis.

For twelve months he lived in a small but picturesque house in Pine street. Thence he moved to a more pretentious residence at No. 24 Broadway, where he lived until 1802, when he acquired a country seat some eight miles distant. This he named the "Grange" and here he was domiciled to the time of his death in 1804. Hamilton was very fond of home life, and every day indulged in his favorite pastime of driving to and from the city with his children. In the family archives are accounts of his accompanying his daughter Angelica when she sang and played upon the piano, of his story telling and his long walks and talks with his sons and daughters.

The letters of Mrs. Church, his wife's sister, both before and after his resignation from the Treasury,

show graphically his limited income and his desire to spend more time with his wife and little ones.

In December 1794, he wrote the following:

"You say I am a politician and good for nothing. What will you say when you learn that after January next, I shall cease to be a politician at all. I have formally and definitely announced my intention to resign at that period and have ordered a house to be taken for me in New York.

"My dear Eliza has been lately very ill. Thank God, she is now quite recovered except that she continues somewhat weak. My absence on a certain expedition was the cause. You will see notwithstanding your disparagement of me, I am still of consequence to her.

"Don't let Mr. Church be alarmed at my retreat! all is well with the public. Our insurrection is most happily terminated. Government has gained by it reputation and strength, and our finances are in a most flourishing condition. Having contributed to place those of the nation on a good footing, I go to take a little care of my own; which need my care not a little.

"Love to Mr. Church. Betsy will add a line or two."

He could not, however, keep aloof from the political arena. The acknowledged leader of the Federalist party, he also represented a great tendency in the American people. In politics, using the word in its lower sense, Hamilton does not belong to the first rank. His ideals were too high for him to descend to methods which were in vogue and respectable, but did not meet with his approval. In his choice of assistants, he was often careless and gave offense by neglecting to recognize ambitious and deserving men.

Quick to resent what he regarded as wrongful action, he made unnecessary attacks and created needless enmities. In this way, he as much as any other cause aided in increasing the dissensions which disaffected the Federalist party, and resulted in the election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidential chair. To those, who have studied the career of the great Federalist, there can be no doubt but what after the Constitutional convention his views in regard to the common people underwent a slow change. As the years rolled by the spectre of popular sovereignty grew fainter than when he conjured it up in 1787. This change was the result of his own growth, and probably of the growth of the American people. There were still disquieting features in political life, but in the main the development of the nation was orderly, symmetrical and satisfactory. He perceived the increasing power of the intellect as a factor in the public arena and on November 16, 1801, established the New York Evening Post, which immediately became the organ of his party and school of thought. The new journey was an advance upon all of its predecessors, and appealed to the educated classes. That it succeeded was convincing evidence that the community had obtained a position in which ability and training had become dominant factors in public life.

On the 12th of July, 1804, Hamilton fell in a duel with Aaron Burr. To the conscience of today, the act seems indefensible, but allowance should be made for the growth of moral conceptions during the Nineteenth century. The duel was an acknowledged means of settling disputes in those days, was employed in every civilized country and was regarded as what may be called a gentlemanly institution. It was not only countenanced by society, but so

strongly upheld that the man who refused to accept a challenge was usually ostracized. Had Hamilton lived, he would have remained a commanding figure in the State and the Nation to his last breath. Yet it may be questioned, if he could ever have revived the dead Federalist party or brought a new political organization into being. His death, untimely as it may seem, was a magnificent climax to a life which had been consecrated to the highest ideals of intellectuality and patriotism. That he should fall at the hand of a crafty, political rival in the heat of a combat which had been created by his own genius for the amelioration of the American people is as tragic and yet as superb as that of the taking off of the great martyred president, Abraham Lincoln.

Of the Revolutionary leaders a majority are forgotten. Time gently lays them away in the veiled recesses of oblivion. Hamilton will always remain in the American pantheon, a brilliant soldier, a fine jurist, an eminent writer, a great statesman and an ideal patriot.

His epitaph was written by Prince Talleyrand, when he said after having visited Hamilton, "I have beheld one of the wonders of the world. I have seen a man, who has made the fortune of a Nation, laboring all night to support his family."

JOHN JAY

Born, December 12, 1745; Died, May 17, 1829.

How curiously the threads of history run through its ever changing patterns! The broad toleration which marked the Commonwealth of the Netherlands was to exert a profound influence upon American history. It drew to Holland the Huguenots, who were persecuted in France; the descendants of these religious exiles accompanied their neighbors across the sea to establish New Amsterdam, and in the course of time became a prominent factor in American political life, both colonial and national. The very names of Bowdoin, Faneuil, Jay, Delancey and de Peyster are interesting illustrations of this chain of causation.

In the proud roll of the builders of the Republic, the great Huguenot name is that of John Jay. He came of an ancient Franco-Knickerbocker family which settled in New York in the latter part of the Seventeenth century. It possessed wealth, culture and beauty, and from the beginning of its career in the Western hemisphere it held high social position. Its members were successful in their marriages as they were in study, commerce, professional life, the army and public affairs.

The generation to which John Jay belonged was notable for its size, his parents having been blessed with no less than ten children. Although the Jays were of the landed aristocracy of the period, their instincts were with the Colonists and against the

Crown. The sons all displayed more than usual talent, the brightest of them being John, the youngest. As a boy he was playful and addicted to pranks, so that although he made rapid progress in his studies at home his parents soon determined to send him to a boarding-school, where in addition to being educated, he would also be disciplined. He was accordingly despatched when just entering his teens, to a popular institution at New Rochelle, N. Y., kept by a Huguenot clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Steuppe (Stoupe) who was pastor of the French Church in that village. The management of this school was based upon models happily long since passed away. The clergyman was master, his wife associate-master, and one or more poor young men played the parts of assistants. The dominie, though a fine scholar, was eccentric, and his wife was as parsimonious as she was learned. The curriculum included French, Latin, deportment, music, literature, theology and prayers. The table was so poor that the boys were nearly starved, and their bedrooms were innocent of fire in the winter. This was done "to harden" them according to the ideas of that age. Philip Schuyler, who was a student with young Jay, says it was due to save the expense of firewood. A letter is preserved from the future Chief Justice John Jay to his mother, in which he describes "stopping up the broken window panes with billets of wood to keep the snow out of the beds."

The training imparted was excellent, and when young Jay, at the age of fifteen, presented himself at Columbia, then King's College, he experienced no difficulty in matriculating; in fact he was better qualified for admission than most boys of his age.

The Huguenots, and especially the clergymen, made it a point to keep up the traditions of their

race. They rather looked down upon their Dutch friends, who from their canons were gross and ignorant of fine breeding. They paid great attention to the social graces, training their young men and women in such details as bowing, entering and leaving a parlor, entertaining company in the salon, using poetry and anecdote in conversation and looking after their raiment.

The college was more like a club in those years than an institution of today. The number of students at King's varied between twenty and forty, and the relations among them were exceedingly cordial. Jay was both scholarly and popular. Here he made many friendships which were to last him for life. Among others who studied there at the time were Anthony and Leonard Lispenard, the Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, Colonel Antill, Captain Grinnell, Captain de Peyster, Richard Harison, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, Colonel Henry Rutgers and Judge John Watts. He was graduated in the class of 1764. Both presidents, Dr. Johnson and Dr. Cooper, commended the lad as being a fine student and a youth of rare promise. He was unostentatious, and our knowledge of his accomplishments is derived from the accounts of friends and schoolmates. According to their statements he must have been an unusually talented collegian. He is said to have been a fluent speaker and writer in English, French and Latin, and to have had a knowledge of Dutch and Italian. This for a boy of nineteen is a record of exceptional merit. After graduating he was entered as a law student in the office of Benjamin Kissam and was admitted to the bar two years later. In the next ten years he led a busy professional and social life. He was the life of the large circle which centered at his parent's mansion, and a welcome guest in the leading parlors of the city of New York.

Taking a deep interest in national and international affairs he soon came to be regarded as an authority in such matters by his clients, by other members of the bar, and by the large group of acquaintances which he had formed. When the agitation respecting governmental abuses by the British Crown became general, he was outspoken in his declarations against the offensive measures. He was a clear thinker and an eloquent talker, so that his opinions carried considerable weight. When the merchants of New York held a meeting and appointed a committee of fifty-one to enter into a correspondence with the other colonies on the subject of unjust legislation he was appointed a member of that body. To Jay are credited the recommendation of a Congress of deputies from the colonies in general and the suggestion that it meet in Philadelphia, which would be more convenient or central than any other city which might be named. This was the embryo of the Continental Congress which was to play so important a part in the next ten years.

The recommendation was adopted by the various colonies, and each sent a delegation. That from New York contained Jay, James Duane, William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, Henry Wisner, John Haring, John Alsop and Simon Boerum. Three of these were conspicuous above the rest, Jay, Livingston and Duane; while of the three, Jay and Livingston were worthy rivals for supremacy. The Congress met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. Its chief work was the drawing of an "Address to the People of Great Britain," one of the best bits of literary work in American history. While purporting to come from the committee of three, it was really drawn by Jay, to whom the others had resigned the duty.

He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1777, and from 1778 to 1779 and on December, 1778, was elected president of the body. As political excitement increased so did his activity. He became a prominent member of the New York Committee of Observation, and was one of the special committee which recommended the election of a Provincial Congress for New York State and of a Committee of One Hundred with general powers for the public good.

Although belonging to the Continental Congress, he accepted a deputyship to the third and fourth Provincial Congresses in 1776, which had the important task of organizing a state government. To perform this duty it was necessary to be absent from the Continental Congress which passed and signed the Declaration of Independence. This is why his name does not appear upon the list of signers of that deathless document. At the second Continental Congress, in 1775, he drafted the "Address to the People of Canada and of Ireland." The same year he was appointed a member of the Secret Committee, whose purpose was to correspond with the friends of America in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world, but whose real object was to negotiate treaties with France, and if possible Spain.

Though he did not sign the Declaration of Independence, yet it was upon Jay's motion that the New York Provincial Congress unanimously approved the same at White Plains on July 7, 1776. Here also a secret committee was appointed by the Convention, of which Jay was made chairman and later a committee of which he was made a member, whose purpose was to attack and crush the conspiracies which the Tories had begun to form in New York and New Jersey. Jay was now carry-

ing as much work as the twenty-four hours of the day would permit. He was a member of the Continental Congress and the Continental Secret Committee, not to speak of the committees of minor importance. He was also a member of the Provincial Congress, the Provincial Secret Committee, the Anti-Conspiracy Committee, the Committee of Observation and the Committee of One Hundred. The mere labor of attending these different organizations was great, as it involved the slow travel of that period as well as an amount of work which it is difficult to depict at the present time. There were no labor-saving conveniences, such as manifold, printing and reporting. While Jay made use of a secretary wherever possible, nearly all of his written work was done by his own pen. At this time he learned the knack of writing while driving along a rough road, an accomplishment which stood him in good stead during the years to come.

Events moved swiftly from this time on. Disaster upon disaster befell the Colonial cause, discouraging many who at the outset were enthusiastic for liberty. Jay remained undaunted. Not even the mistakes of the Continental Congress, and they were many, shook his conviction that right must eventually triumph. Before Washington's retreat from New York, Jay favored burning the city and repairing to the highlands. After the retreat, he issued an appeal to his fellow-countrymen, which for eloquence and indomitable courage was as inspiring as a bugle blast. It revived the colonial spirit, and Congress was so carried away by its force as to order it printed in both English and German and distributed in every town within its jurisdiction.

Meanwhile he aided in drafting the first State Constitution which was adopted by the Provincial Congress. This body expressed its appreciation of

Jay's work by appointing him Chief Justice of the Empire State, a remarkably high honor for a young man, thirty-one years of age. It also made him a member of the Council of Safety which directed the military organization of the State subject to the National jurisdiction in many respects, but going beyond this in regard to local matters and interests.

In 1778, he was appointed envoy plenipotentiary to Spain, and later on, a Peace Commissioner. In the Spanish capital he made almost as favorable an impression as Franklin had done in Paris. With rare adaptability he put himself at ease among the dignified grandees of the Spanish Court, and was soon a favorite of its ministry. In 1782, negotiations for peace were reaching a critical point, and at Franklin's request Jay left Madrid and joined his colleague in Paris. It was well for the colonies that the Peace Commission contained these two men in addition to its third member, John Adams of Massachusetts. All were fine types of American manhood, each making up for any deficiency, which might exist in the other two. As a matter of fact, it would seem as if Franklin, though among the wisest of men, was a trifle too optimistic in his diplomatic work. In addition to this, he was getting to be an old man and was suffering from illness. Jay on the other hand knew better than Franklin the duplicity of the Bourbon Court. He belonged to a family which had suffered from indignity from that royal house in the past, and the very blood in his veins gave him an instinctive knowledge which Franklin, framed in the powerful Anglo-Saxon mould, did not possess.

It may be too, that Jay while in Madrid had been enabled to look behind the scenes which Franklin never was. The latter calculated that France would be satisfied by the humiliation of England

and the restriction of her power in the New World. Jay saw this and more. He perceived that beneath the desire for revenge, always a failing with the French people, and the assumed sympathy for a crushed community, there was a grasping ambition, which intended to make the New World into a New France. Had the plans of the Cabinets at Versailles and Madrid been carried out, the American colonies would have jumped from the frying pan into the fire. They would have passed from the tyranny of the Common law to the greater tyranny of feudal Bourbonism. Franklin and Adams were quick to perceive the full significance of the situation when Jay explained his views. Ordinary men would have proceeded, like pawns upon a chess board, and played into the hands of Vergennes, but the American Commissioners were of a different make. They went ahead upon their own initiative, disobeyed Congress in every respect, secured American Independence and defeated the finely drawn plans of France and Spain.

The result though hailed with acclamation by the nation at large precipitated many quarrels and much abuse. Congress had been induced by French diplomacy to command the three Commissioners to report their proceedings to the French Ministers and to do nothing without their approval and consent. Vergennes relied upon this, and apparently kept no watch upon the dauntless trio. In European diplomacy of that time, an Envoy was an employe, who did as he was told. If a French Minister had behaved as did Jay and Franklin, the Bastille or the grave would have been his reward. The storm which broke out against Jay after the treaty had been consummated was short-lived. The joy-restored peace and acquired independence filled all hearts

John Adams, who had worked faithfully and well

as a Commissioner, declared that the title of "The Washington of the Negotiation," which had been bestowed upon him, belonged properly to John Jay.

On his return to New York in 1784, Jay took office as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to which he had been elected by Congress in his absence. Here, he remained for five years, during which time he labored tirelessly in the discharge of his duties. During the discussion concerning the National Constitution, he was an energetic advocate of that instrument and contributed to the *Federalist* with Hamilton and Madison. In the severe struggle which took place in New York in respect to the adoption of the Constitution he was one of the leaders in its favor, and aided largely in securing its approval. When government was organized upon the new basis, he accepted from Washington the Chief-Justiceship of the Supreme Court, the latter having offered to him whatever position he might be pleased to select. His career upon the bench was such as to bring forth Webster's great epigram, "When the spotless ermine of the judicial robes fell on John Jay, it touched nothing less spotless than itself."

In 1794 Washington appointed him a Special Envoy Extraordinary to Great Britain where in the same year he negotiated what is known as "Jay's Treaty." His diplomatic work in this affair was of a very admirable kind and put an end to the difficulties which had grown up between the two countries and were so bitter that before his appointment, war seemed imminent. The opposition in Congress took a strange delight in fomenting discord, and even when Washington appointed Jay as the best man to heal up the threatening breach, the political foes of the Administration, under the leadership of Aaron Burr, tried their hardest to prevent pacific measures and the confirmation of Jay's appointment. Yet of

these malcontents a majority congratulated the Chief Justice upon his return. If Jay's work was praised at home, it was abused in England. Lord Sheffield voiced English opinion when he referred to it "as that most impolitic treaty of 1794 when Lord Grenville was so perfectly duped by Jay."

While on his way home Jay was elected Governor of New York State, and re-elected three years later in 1798. At the expiration of the second term President Adams offered him his old seat as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, which he declined. Public life had lost nearly all of its attractions and the great issues with which he had been identified were now settled. The remaining twenty-eight years of his life were spent in attending to his large estates, and in philanthropic and religious work.

His brilliant career was based upon a singular combination of virtues. Unlike his compeers he was exceedingly religious and upright. He was devout by heredity and education, and in addition, he had a congenial distaste for vice and all the weaknesses of life.

He was one of the first society leaders to frown upon the time-honored practice of intoxication at dinner parties. He objected to the social gambling then so prominent in all walks of life. To him marriage was a sacrament, and all love was to be consecrated to a wife. In speech and writing, his expressions were never marred by vulgarity, slang, profanity or double entendre. His piety was unobstrusive, and his religion more a matter of life than of form and ceremony. This combination of qualities militated mayhap against his popularity but increased the respect in which he was held by the community, until it amounted almost to reverence. In the acrimonious politics of the last decade of the Eighteenth century the very terms of abuse which

were heaped upon him were compliments in disguise. "The goodly aristocrat," "The Virtuous Envoy," "The Learned Abolitionist" and similar phrases were the worst terms which his opponents could apply to him. The age had a brutal frankness, and the peccadilloes of prominent men were magnified by the press and politicians of the opposition into crimes of the first magnitude. Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and Franklin were too often the target of Billingsgate and villification. Jay, who probably had as many enemies as any other man of his period, passed through the ordeal with almost no personal criticism.

His mind was legal and literary. In writing to his wife and children he employed as faultless a diction as in drafting a treaty or framing a Constitution. His letter on "Currency, Finance and the Relations of the State to the Money World," is one of the ablest contributions to financial science, while his "Address to the People of Canada and of Ireland" was declared to be "a production certainly of the finest pen in America." His opinions as Chief Justice are models of logic and literary excellence.

His aristocratic nature and lineage revealed themselves at every point. Graceful and pleasing by birth, he was chivalrous and fascinating by education. Nevertheless this man, who loved beauty and aesthetic surroundings, was one of the strongest opponents of the tendency toward investing the government with royal pomp and pageantry. He objected to officials wearing the jeweled uniforms of Europe, and to citizens of the Republic employing titles that were echoes of monarchical institutions.

His success in life was largely aided by his wife, Sarah Van Vrugth Livingston, oldest daughter of William Livingston, the fighting Governor of New Jersey. Strikingly beautiful, she was said to be the

counterpart of Marie Antoinette, the unfortunate French Queen. She had the grace, sweetness and accomplishments of the latter, but beyond these she inherited a powerful intellect from her talented father. She must have been singularly attractive, because she was as popular in Madrid and Paris as in her own country. A careful housewife and manager she was eminently successful in the management of their estates when her husband was away from home. She entertained with skill, and made her parlors the first salon in New York for many years. She was an ideal mother and transmitted the characteristics of both herself and her husband to their children and grandchildren, who have sustained the family name and prestige up to the present time.

It may be noted of Jay's personality that what enemies he had were political and not personal, while on the other hand the friends that he made, he retained for life. The friendship between himself and Washington was a case in point, and called forth the following letter from the First President which has been preserved in the family archives.

"West Point, October 7, 1779.

"Dear Sir:

"Among the number of your friends, permit me also to congratulate you, on your late honourable and important appointment. Be assured sir, that my pleasure on this occasion, though it may be equalled, cannot be exceeded by that of any other.

"I do most sincerely wish you a pleasant and agreeable passage, the most perfect and honourable accomplishment of your ministry and a safe return to the bosom of a grateful country.

"With the greatest regard, and sincerest personal attachment,

"I have the honour to be, Your most obedient,
"Affectionate humble servant
"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

To John Jay.

While abroad he met with David Hartley, M. P. and despite the war which prevailed between their countries, he won the Commoner's heart in such a way as to inspire the letter, which follows:

"Your public and private conduct has impressed me with unalterable esteem for you as a public and private friend, * * * if I should not have the good fortune to see you again, I hope you will always think of me as eternally and unalterably attached to the principles of renewing and establishing the most intimate connection of amity and intercourse and alliance between our two countries. I presume that the subject of American intercourse will soon be renewed in Parliament, as the term of the present Act approaches to its expiration. The resumption of this subject in Parliament will probably give ground to some specific negotiation,—you know my sentiments already. I thank you for your inquiries concerning my sister. She continues much in the same way as when you were at Bath—that is to say as we hope in a fair way to final recovery, though very slowly. My brother is well, and joins with me in sincere good wishes to yourself and family, and to the renovation of all those ties of consanguinity and friendship which have for ages been interwoven between our respective countries."

Lafayette, who represented France, wrote while on a visit to this country:

"Monticello, Nov. 10, 1824.

"My dear Sir:

"As soon as I found myself once more on the happy shore of America, one of my first inquiries was after you, and the means to get to my old

friend. The pleasure to see your son was great indeed, but I regretted the distance, engagements, and duties which obliged me to postpone the high gratification to meet you after so long an absence. Since that time I have been paying visits and receiving welcomes, where every sort of enjoyments and sights exceeding my own sanguine expectations, have mingled with the feelings of a lively and profound gratitude.

"From you, my dear sir, and in the name of Congress I was last honored with a benevolent farewell. Now, I am going to Washington City the constitutional forms having changed, to await the arrival of the members of the Houses and be introduced to each of them with my thanks to their kind invitation to this our American land.

"Your letter reached me on my way through a part of the States; I wish I could myself bear the answer or tell you when I can anticipate a visit to you, but waiting longer would not enable me to know it, at least, for some time. I therefore beg you to receive the grateful respects of my son and the expression of most affectionate sentiments from your old Revolutionary companion and constant friend.

"LAFAYETTE."

To John Jay.

Jay, like Hamilton and Jefferson, was a man of broad conceptions and high ideals. He had a profounder belief in humanity than Hamilton, and a clearer perception of ethical principles than the great Parliamentarian. In him, the practical and theoretical were well balanced. His nature was altruistic. He began public life as the president of an abolition society and he closed it as the director of the American Bible Society. In all things he tried to do good, and upon this basis rests the enduring superstructure of his fame.

JOHN ADAMS

Born, October 31, 1735; Died, July 4, 1826

Fortune is a fickle jade, who distributes her favors irrespective of the individual upon whom they are conferred. To one, she presents a hundred opportunities and to another none. It is well when the man who receives her attention has the power to enjoy his opportunities to the utmost. Such a character was John Adams of Massachusetts, the second President of the United States. Of all the founders of the nation, none had a nobler endowment herewith to begin life, none had more opportunities offered unto him, and none took greater advantage of the flying moment. The story of his career is the fitting by nature of a great personality for an environment of world-importance, and the creating of that environment for the man when he was ready. His life possesses a symmetry that may be compared to that of a classic statue. It is absolutely unlike that of Franklin, who fought his way from a candle maker upward, or of Hamilton, who was an unknown newcomer from a West Indian isle.

Adams belonged to a family which has furnished so many examples of sterling manhood to the nation, and inherited the grim courage, tenacity, intelligence and love of liberty which had marked it for four centuries. From some ancestor, he derived other and rarer qualities, insight into the great laws which move nations, the poetic impulse, a masterly

power of thought and expression and singular frankness and rectitude. Though a Yankee of Yankees, he did not possess one of the so-called Yankee qualities. His mind tended to high thought even in boyhood. At school, in his home in Braintree, Mass., and at Harvard, where he was graduated in 1755, he found his chief joy in studying the masterpieces of the literature of his time. From his diary and speeches, as well as the comments of contemporaries, we know that he was well acquainted with Homer, Xenophon, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Shakespeare, Pope, Bracton, Granville, Coke, Lord Hale, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Justinian and all the writers upon Roman, Natural, Ecclesiastical and Common law. At the age of twenty-nine, he wrote a thesis on Canon and Feudal law, which despite the progress made in comparative jurisprudence since that period may be studied today with edification and delight.

He belonged to what was then the aristocracy of New England, which in the Eighteenth century was based upon education, wealth and family connections. The college man was naturally a leading light in Provincial society, and when he came of an opulent family holding a high social position, the combination made him one of the "four hundred" of the time.

In college, if not before, Adams began to have doubts as to the truth of the religious doctrines of the time; but before coming to any conclusions, he made a careful study of the works of the great theologians and the political and philosophic writers of the age. None of these appears to have swayed him; before he reached manhood's estate, he boldly admitted that he was an Arminian, which in those days corresponded to the Unitarian of today in belief, but to the Agnostic so far as public esteem was

concerned. As a matter of fact he seems to have been a Deist.

He took up the study of the law, and was one of the first American practitioners to appreciate and master Blackstone, whose famous Commentaries had just been published. In doing this he incurred the scorn of the older members of the bar, who regarded Coke on Littleton as the treasure house of all legal knowledge. He read law not to become a mere attorney but a jurist. The average member of the legal profession in those days went through a curriculum of a handful of books, and those pertaining exclusively to Common-law and Practice. Adams went much farther, and gave several hours each day to familiarizing himself with the subject as an entirety, beginning with the early Roman law and tracing its development through the various European countries to the present time. Little did he know at the time when he was burning the midnight oil over Justinian, Vattel and Montesquieu, that he was preparing himself to be a great statesman and diplomat in long years to come.

His first great triumph in life took place in 1764, when he was married to Abigail Smith, of Weymouth, Mass., who possessed wealth, social position, beauty, and an intellect of such rare power as to make her the most distinguished member of her sex in that period. In that year began the agitation over the contemplated Stamp Act, in which both Adams and his wife took strong grounds against the proposed measure. The following year he was prominent in the Town Meeting of Braintree, where the law was denounced in scathing terms. He drew and presented the resolutions which were adopted at the session, and thereafter by at least forty towns in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

So deep was the impression produced by these

resolutions that shortly afterwards when the citizens of Boston addressed a memorial to Governor Hutchinson, praying that the Supreme Court would overlook the absence of stamps upon all legal documents, a practice which had been adopted as a practical protest by the legal profession, Adams was chosen with James Otis and Jeremiah Gridley as counsel to represent Boston at the gubernatorial hearing. Here the young lawyer delivered a speech notable for its logic, cogency and erudition. In this, for the first time the ground was publicly taken that the Stamp Act was null and void since it was "Taxation without Representation." The same month he began writing upon political topics, and contributed a series of leading articles to the Boston Gazette. They dealt with the vexed question of constitutional and colonial rights, but were so cleverly phrased that they appealed even more to non-professional than professional readers. His practice and reputation grew from day to day. So many Bostonians engaged him as counsel, that in 1768 he left his home and settled in that city.

The British government in those days had a cunning policy of buying up the opposition by giving appointments under the Crown, selecting an office, whose honor and emoluments were equal to their valuation of the man appointed. Adams must have been regarded as a power, for the Attorney-General offered him the position of Advocate-General in the Admiralty Court. This meant not only high official and social status but also a salary and fees, which combined made the Advocate-General a rich man. The bait was tempting, but Adams declined it, although not possessing much ready money. Again and again was the offer made, but without acceptance.

On March 5, 1770, occurred the Boston massacre.

Popular indignation rose to a white heat, and when Captain Preston and the seven soldiers under him in the outrage were indicted for murder, there was difficulty in obtaining counsel to defend them. Lawyers, who were appealed to were afraid of losing caste and declined to serve. Adams, with superb courage, volunteered to represent the accused, and with his cousin, Josiah Quincy, made a defense of rare ability. His action roused a storm of protest at first, but this died away in the recognition of his moral courage. It even increased his popularity, so that the people elected him that year to the legislature.

Here, he rose rapidly, and was soon the chief legal adviser of the patriots. Before a year had gone by he had become one of the four leaders of the Colonial party, his associates being Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Joseph Warren. Two years afterwards occurred the attempt of the British government to transfer the Massachusetts judges from Colonial to Crown jurisdiction. Against this measure Adams spoke convincingly, and what made a larger impression, he wrote a series of articles which were printed, distributed and read in every town of Massachusetts.

He had now become a stumbling block to the administration. He was chosen a member of the Governor's Council, but Hutchinson quickly vetoed the election. Early in 1773 and 1774, he was in constant consultation with Samuel Adams respecting the committees of correspondence, and in April was elected a delegate to the First Continental Congress. His was the pen which drew the resolution passed by that body, and his the voice that electrified the proceedings in Philadelphia. In that famous council he was intellectually and oratorically the first.

On his return from Philadelphia he was elected to the Revolutionary Provincial Congress then assembled in Concord. Here he did good work and from now on until April, 1775, he contributed many invaluable studies upon the issues then pending to the Massachusetts press. It may be said that Adams, from 1764 had been pursuing an educational campaign. When he began, he represented a very small element in the community. Not until 1776 had his opinions become those of the country at large.

With extraordinary clarity of vision he saw from the beginning that beneath all the little issues lay a vital question, involving the fundamental principle of political being. Nearly all of the Colonial leaders believed in the inviolability of British suzerainty, and the British Constitution. They conceded to the mother country the legal right to frame and repeal charters for the Colonies and objected only when these charters conflicted with their own rights. Adams saw that just as the Constitution was a matter of growth in England and had obtained its power by expressing the necessities of the community where it had grown, so in every colony a Colonial constitution had been evolved and grown up which bore the same relation to the colony as the British Constitution did to the kingdom. He therefore held and with great logic that while a Colony was in a formative state its charter might be justly and properly amended, modified or repealed; but that after a colony had grown up pursuant to a charter it had acquired vested rights which could not be changed without its own consent.

His position was in a vague way the same as that maintained by Daniel Webster in the Dartmouth College case. It was partially expressed in the war cry, "No Taxation without Representation," but it went far deeper. The recognition of this great prin-

ciple is to be found in many of Adams's addresses, and in most of the polemical literature which he published during this period.

Equally clear was his vision as to the outcome of the relations between the mother country and the Colonies. Even as late as the second Continental Congress very few of the Colonial leaders saw the impending war. It is true that Washington, with prophetic insight, had declared his willingness to equip a thousand men and march at their head for the relief of Boston, but the general belief as well as hope was that the British government would soon change its attitude and things would revert to their former status. Both John and Samuel Adams were the wise men who saw that war was inevitable. They realized that the fifteen thousand men who had gathered to besiege the British in Boston were a gauntlet which the British Ministry would take up in uncontrollable fury. In this crisis the two kinsmen worked together, and it is difficult to say how the credit should be divided between them for their actions in the National Assembly. They knew that Massachusetts could not stand alone against England, and that the other colonies, especially Virginia, must be brought in at all hazards to its support. John Adams, therefore, moved the appointment of Washington as the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. This must have been done at the instance of Samuel Adams. The former, unlike the latter, was deficient in military knowledge and judgment. As he never seemed to appreciate Washington's generalship it is probable that in his motion he was the mouthpiece of Samuel Adams, who was a better authority in such matters and who had a warm admiration for the Virginian.

In the fall of that year, Congress received memorials from New Hampshire, South Carolina and

Virginia, each asking advice as to the form of government which it should adopt. Adams promptly induced his colleagues to recommend state governments based upon popular suffrage. In May, 1776, he offered a resolution that all the Colonies should be invited to form independent governments. The resolution was bitterly opposed, more especially by the delegates from the middle States, but was finally carried.

On June 7th, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved the Declaration of Independence, and was seconded by John Adams. In the discussion upon the Declaration, he now made the great speech of his life, one which will always hold a high place in the history of American eloquence. Beside speaking he was one of the fighters in the parliamentary arena, and both while the House was in session and had adjourned he lost no time in trying to persuade, convince and convert weak friends and strong enemies. It was his work during this crisis which brought forth Jefferson's famous encomium that Adams was the "Colossus of the debate."

In 1777, he was appointed Commissioner to France, superseding Silas Deane. He reached his post in April the following year. Here he was called upon to perform a set of duties very different from any which had yet devolved upon him. He found that the interests of the Colonies in France were so mismanaged as to be a disgrace in the eyes of the business world. Instead of having a recognized agent or committee with full power, they were represented by numerous commissioners, deputies, agents and people unknown to him. With the ability of a business man he reduced chaos to order and made the Commission the sole Colonial power in Paris. Finding that the Commission itself was cumbersome, he recommended that instead of a three-head-

ed body there should be a single Minister. Congress appreciated the wisdom of his advice and adopted his plans, making Franklin the Minister at Paris and Arthur Lee at Madrid. Adams returned immediately thereafter, reaching Boston in August, 1779. He had scarcely arrived home when he was elected to the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts, and immediately thereafter was appointed Peace Commissioner to treat with Great Britain.

Proceeding to Paris he joined Franklin, and began the negotiations which were to last long and weary months ere peace and independence were secured. While residing abroad he was made a Special Commissioner for obtaining a National loan in Holland. On arriving in the Netherlands he was compelled to undertake an educational campaign. The Dutch knew little of the Colonies, and of this much was not in their favor. Adams soon changed popular feeling by numerous articles to the press of Holland, and personal interviews with statesmen, bankers, and private citizens. As a reward of his indomitable energy, Holland recognized the independence of the United States in April, 1782, and shortly after a loan of two million dollars was consummated between the two countries. This was followed in October by a commercial treaty between Holland and the young Republic. His labor in this matter was arduous in many ways. Beside the difficulties which appeared upon the surface, he had to overcome obstacles raised by British diplomacy on the one side and by the crafty French Cabinet on the other. To still further complicate the problem, Holland at that time was so bound by treaties with Russia, Austria, and other countries that it seemed almost impossible to induce her to act without obtaining the full consent of all her allies.

In his diplomacy, he adopted the vigorous and

even brusque style which was used by Bismarck in the Nineteenth century, and he was rewarded with the same success as that which fell upon the Iron Chancellor. On account of his courtly bearing, intellectual eloquence and profound legal knowledge, this very brusquerie made him a puzzle to the diplomats of Europe. They assumed that his straightforwardness was a crafty mannerism beneath which were concealed designs altogether different from those which he made public.

He had been so efficient a servant of the people, that in 1783, when he asked leave to come home the federal authorities instead of granting this request, appointed him as Special Commissioner, with Franklin and Jay, to arrange a commercial treaty with Great Britain. From London, he went again to Holland and thence to France for the young Republic. He arranged the *pourparlers* of a Treaty with Prussia, but before it was signed he was appointed Minister to the Court of St. James. Proceeding to the British capital, where he remained from May, 1785, to February, 1788, he had to bear the brunt of the ill will and detestation with which the Court viewed its late Colonies. Though treated with formal courtesy he was made to feel in a thousand and one ways that the cause and the people he represented were abhorrent to Great Britain. A man of weaker mould would have resigned in disgust and gone back to the United States. Adams was made of sterner stuff, and endured contumely and insult with stoical fortitude. He endeavored to make a diversion in favor of the Colonies by many speeches and publications. These won friends abroad, but in some way made enemies at home. Men of unbalanced minds and small-fry politicians, whose chief object in life is the tearing down of men greater than themselves, used these writings to support an argument that he was a

monarchist in disguise, and at heart opposed to republican institutions. They could not have affected the public mind to any great extent because upon his return Congress passed a vote of thanks to him for "the patriotism, perseverance, integrity and diligence," he had manifested in the ten years passed abroad.

At the first election for President under the present Constitution sixty-nine electoral votes were cast. Each elector voted for two candidates, the one receiving the largest number of votes being made President and the second, Vice-President. The canvass showed George Washington to have received sixty-nine votes, John Adams thirty-four, John Jay nine, Robert Hanson Harrison six, with scattering votes for John Rutledge, John Hancock, George Clinton, Samuel Huntington, John Milton, James Armstrong, Benjamin Lincoln, and Edward Telfair. The results were a surprise to nearly every one, especially to Adams. It astonished and grieved him to see that Washington was the unanimous choice of the Nation while he had not received even a majority vote for second choice. The great constitutionalist was too much of a Spartan to make complaint, but inwardly, he experienced intense pain. He was essentially a man who lived in the world of intellect, and he could not understand how the people could prefer Washington, who so far as he could see was merely a second or third rate soldier. Neither could he understand why the electors could for their second choice have named such men as Rutledge, Harrison, Hancock and the rest. To a certain extent he was justified in these feelings. If honors had been awarded for intellectuality and nothing else, he would have been President and Jay, Vice-President; but intellectuality is only one factor of life. Personality is equally potent, and when it comes to the ultimate

struggle for a principle neither force can compare with military genius. Upon the last cast of the dice the world turns to the warrior, and not the sage nor the philanthropist.

The second presidential election was similar to the first. Again Washington received the vote of every elector, and the second choice was almost as badly broken as it had been at the first election. Adams received seventy-seven votes, George Clinton fifty, Thomas Jefferson four and Aaron Burr one. During the eight years of his Vice-Presidency Adams proved himself a patriot of the best kind, and a statesman of more than average ability. He did not, however, increase his popularity or political strength. Despite his record and the many opportunities which were offered to him he began to be out-stripped by Jefferson on the one side and Hamilton on the other. Political opinion and agitation were growing rapidly and assuming new phases to meet new conditions in national life. Adams' mind at this stage seems to have been set in the present and past rather than upon the future. The young and progressive lawyer was yielding to the tendencies of his profession and becoming conservative and fixed.

Fortunately for him the country was still in a formative condition, so that at the third election which was hotly contested the inertia of the past carried him through successfully and made him President of the United States. The vote, however, was singularly close, the canvass showing Adams to have received seventy-one votes, Jefferson sixty-eight, Thomas Pinckney fifty-nine, Aaron Burr, thirty, Samuel Adams fifteen, Oliver Ellsworth eleven, George Clinton nine, and scattering votes for John Jay, James Iredell, George Washington, John Henry, Samuel Johnston, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

The figures, to his trained mind, were like the handwriting on the wall. Not alone had he been elected by an insignificant majority, but he had not received the support of the majority of the Federalist party, they having thrown one hundred and forty-five votes of which but seventy-one had gone to him. The young Republican party had cast one hundred and ten of which Jefferson had received sixty-eight. It was clear to him and to every politician of the period that the proud Federalist organization was on the swift decline and that his star was in the descendant: that the Republican party was the coming ruler of the nation, and that Thomas Jefferson was its prophet. Though he had achieved the highest honor in the land he must have realized that he was the last of the school of thought for which he had fought so long and well. Undoubtedly he was as strong a democrat in the true sense of the word as Clinton, but he had espoused the principles of strong central government and had identified himself with those who were popularly known as the "aristocrats," a term which in most instances was perfectly justified.

In careless moments, both in speech and writing, he had used expressions which indicated a distrust of the common people and an abiding faith in the "well-born" and well-to-do. He favored a restricted suffrage and believed that the governing class should be drawn from the well-bred and well-educated. There was hypocrisy and demagoguery in those days ever more than at the present time, and his opinions which would never have been allowed to influence his political action, were seized upon by the opposition, distorted and exaggerated to monstrous proportions.

He saw before him a stormy term in office, but

hoped by firmness and wisdom to preserve the nation according to his own views.

That he appreciated and discussed the gravity and situation is shown in a beautiful letter to him from his wife who seems to have been his alter ego:

Quincy, 8 February, 1797.

“The sun is dressed in brightest beams,
To give thy honors to the day.”

“And may it prove an auspicious prelude to each ensuing season. You have this day to declare yourself head of a nation. And now, O Lord, my God, Thou hast made Thy servant ruler over the people. Give unto him an understanding heart, that he may know how to go out and come in before this great people; that he may discern between good and bad. For who is able to judge this Thy so great a people? were the words of a royal sovereign; and not less applicable to him who is invested with the Chief Magistracy of a nation, though he wear not a Crown nor the robes of royalty.

“My thoughts and my meditations are with you, though personally absent; and my petitions to Heaven are that the things which make for peace may not be hidden from your eyes. My feelings are not those of pride or ostentation upon the occasion. They are solemnized by a sense of the obligations, the important trusts and the numerous duties connected with it. That you may be enabled to discharge them with honor to yourself, with justice and impartiality to your country, and with satisfaction to this great people, shall be the daily prayer of your,

“A. A.”

The troubles in his administration were from external rather than internal causes. The world was convulsed with the deadly strife between England and France, and the Americans were divided in their sympathies between the two nations. At one moment war with France seemed imminent. Washington was appointed Lieutenant-General and the Navy put into readiness for action. Adams saw the folly of the nation embroiling itself in a European conflict and averted war at the loss of the popularity he had. Viewed in the calm light of today he pursued the right course. If mere selfishness be regarded the country was in no condition for war and had it plunged into the contest would have suffered ruinously. The troubles it had fifteen years later in its struggle with Great Britain would have taken place during his administration with far greater loss to the young and weak Republic.

In the latter part of his administration, he and his colleagues were guilty of many unwise acts for which the people held them responsible at the next election. To increase still further his anxiety his own party was split into fighting factions between which there was as much enmity as between Federalist and Republican.

In 1800 the electoral vote announced the death of Federalist power and the accession of a Republican to the executive chair.

The remaining twenty-five years of his life he devoted to study and literary work. He lived to see himself a leader in the world of letters as he had been in law and politics. The evil times which he had prophesied as a result of the triumph of Jefferson and Jeffersonian ideas never came. He had the moral courage to admit the fact, and to become as warm a friend of the great Parliamentarian as he had been his enemy.

GEORGE CLINTON

Born, July 26, 1739; Died, April 20, 1812.

Soldier, politician, statesman, executive and patriot sum up the character and record of George Clinton, the great revolutionary Governor of the Empire State. He came of a race famous for military and legal talent. English originally, it had passed through the ups and downs which seem to attend the lives of all who live by the sword, and had passed within a hundred years from England to France, Scotland, Ireland, and thence the New World. The habits engendered under such conditions of daily life must have impressed themselves to a greater or less extent upon the children of each generation. That they were brave, intelligent, energetic and determined was a matter of course. That they were courtly, self-centered, tolerant and philosophic was partly at least a matter of that broader education which comes from experience and travel.

In addition to his talents the young man inherited marked physical comeliness. He was a beau in his youth, of striking appearance in middle age, and exceedingly attractive, when as an old man he was one of the great figures at the national capital. He received what training he could at his home in New Britain in Ulster county, New York, but seems to have cared more for hunting, fishing and athletic sports than for reading or study. When scarcely sixteen he took so deep an interest in the French war that he left home, and going to New York enlisted on a privateer, where he did good service against the

fleur de lys of France. His seafaring life was one of unmixed trial and vexation. The boat was improperly provisioned and equipped; its luck was bad, and the crew contained more discordant and unpleasant elements than was the case with most ships of that time which bore Letters of Marque. Frequently the food supply got so low that all were put on short rations; the water fouled in the tank, causing considerable sickness; twice storms half-wrecked the vessel, and the amount of prize money was insignificant.

When Clinton was again on land, he said he had neither money nor clothing, but muscles of steel, and an appetite which struck fear into the minds of all who entertained him. Yet this cruise was of rare benefit, inasmuch as it gave him a knowledge which was to be of value in years to come. He had gone out to sea an ignorant boy; he came back a good sailor, with a proficiency in the use of the sword, pike, musket, and cannon. Above all he had learned how to obey orders, to work hard and to undergo continuous toil upon his feet for forty-eight hours at a stretch, often performing this upon an empty stomach. These are unusual accomplishments, and they can only be of advantage to a soldier or sailor.

In 1758, before he was nineteen, he became subaltern in the Second Regiment of Ulster county, of which his father, Charles Clinton, was Lieutenant-Colonel, his brother James, a Captain, and another brother, Charles, Assistant-Surgeon. Not long after his appointment the regiment was ordered to the front, where it became part of the expedition under Colonel John Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac, near Lake Ontario. Here George's naval knowledge was unexpectedly put in use. On the lake, a French sloop of war had been annoying the English troops whenever possible. There was no English warship

upon the waters, and the French commander kept a very poor watch upon his vessel. A small force was detailed under the command of Captain James and Lieutenant George, who electrified the other members of the expedition by capturing the hostile craft. The news traveled rapidly and the two brothers were the heroes of the hour. It was at this period that George Washington took part in the capture of Fort Duquesne in the Ohio district, and the news of the two victories reached Ulster county, N. Y., at the same time, so that the names of the "Two Georges" were joined together in public sentiment for the first occasion. No one ever thought at that moment that this chance union was symbolic of a greater one in days to be.

Clinton gained wisdom and experience during this war, New York state at the time being the gateway through which there was always danger of the French armies invading the Colonies. He performed all sorts of duties and became thoroughly versed in the manual of arms and tactics as practised in Europe, and also with the Indian style of warfare. What was to be of even equal value was the knowledge he acquired of the country. It was obtained at a time when he was in the flush of youth and the memory is at its best. So thoroughly were the facts embedded in his mind that up to his old age he could detail almost every strategic route and point between New England, the Great Lakes and Pennsylvania.

On the disbanding of the Colonial army he became a student in the law office of Judge William Smith, and here worked zealously. Upon admission to the bar he settled in New Britain, where shortly afterwards he was appointed a clerk of the Court of Common Pleas by Admiral George Clinton, then Governor of the State. The admiral was a second cousin so that the appointment may be charged partly to kin-

ship, and partly to the gratitude of the British government for the young man's services in the war.

He continued his membership in the militia and did excellent service in inspiring the young men of Ulster county to join the soldiery and to practice military art. He rose by degrees until he was lieutenant-colonel in his old regiment. There was much rivalry in the militia in those days, military functions being the chief popular amusement. We of to-day, who have a thousand fields in which to find entertainment, cannot realize the popularity of the militia companies and regiments of the Eighteenth century. The Second Ulster was one of the crack regiments of the Colony. Its name was known even beyond the New York frontiers, and by everyone interested in such matters the names of George Clinton and James, his brother, were known and esteemed.

He attended to his public duties, and in 1768 was elected a member of the Thirty-first Colonial Assembly, his colleague being Charles de Witt, from whom De Witt Clinton received his name.

During this session, several questions arose involving the endless conflict between Crown and Colonies, and in each Clinton espoused manfully the cause of the people. He was re-elected to the Thirty-first Assembly, which lasted nearly six years. During this time the youth was maturing into a splendid type of American manhood. He became a forcible, if not an eloquent speaker, a clear and logical writer, a good committeeman and a careful and successful lawyer. His attitude toward the Crown became more and more hostile, until just before the breaking out of the Revolution he was regarded as one of the "dangerous rebels" in New York. He had good company, for among others in the Thirty-first Assembly were Philip Livingston, Robt. R. Livingston, Peter R. Livingston, Lewis Morris and Philip Schuyler. With

such a combination of talent it is easy to see the fun they must have had in their official work. They knew even better than the Governor their exact legal rights and privileges, and no matter how out-spoken they were in their opposition to royal encroachment or imposition, they were careful not to transgress the cruel iron laws of that period. They seem to have taken delight in saying and doing things which almost touched the borderline of treason; but not once did they commit an offense which the Governor's legal advisers could pronounce actionable.

In 1775, when the committee of correspondence, under the leadership of Samuel Adams, had arranged for the assembling of the Second Continental Congress, Clinton was elected a member of that body.

In 1776, he was made a member of the Third Provincial Congress of New York, which body adopted unanimously the Declaration of Independence. He would have been executed on July 15th, but was prevented by military duty. On July 7th, when at Philadelphia, where he had voted for the resolution, he was detailed by General Washington to proceed at once to the highlands of New York with the rank of General. He obeyed orders and did not wait until the Declaration was signed. To his dying day Clinton referred to this unavoidable omission as the greatest sorrow of his life.

From now on he was a whirlwind of energy. His public papers, published by the State and elsewhere, fill thirty large volumes, and are but a fraction of what he did in these years. He attended to the raising of troops, their drill and mobilization; he established workshops and camps; and served in the Fourth Provincial Congress which framed the first State Constitution. Shortly after this he was again called into the field and made a Brigadier-General. October 1777, he and his brother James fought a bril-

liant battle against his cousin, Sir Henry Clinton. In that year he was elected Governor of New York state, an office to which he was re-elected from 1780 up to 1795. The position was one of the most responsible in the Colonies. Outside of its civil jurisdiction, its military relations were of the first importance. From the north and west there was ceaseless danger of invasion by the British, and more deadly still by the Indians.

In 1780 he thwarted an expedition, led by Sir John Johnson, Brandt and Cornplanter into the Mohawk Valley, whose object was the massacre of the inhabitants of that fertile territory, and thereafter the capture of Albany. With masterly activity, Clinton gathered the largest force possible and started to meet the invaders. Believing that they would meet no strong resistance, these were amazed when their scouts came in and reported that a very heavy force of soldiers and backwoodsmen was just behind. The expedition beat a hurried retreat leaving what few spoils it had taken in the advance.

His coolness and valor were shown when a Massachusetts regiment, whose officers had joined in a cabal, refused to march to support General Schuyler. When the news was conveyed to Clinton, he came forward and threatened to shoot every officer and ringleader of the regiment unless the orders were obeyed. The regiment marched to the relief of Schuyler. At the surrender of Yorktown his brigade received the colors of Cornwallis's army, and after that victory he was put in command of the New York troops stationed at Pompton, N. J.

After the declaration of peace between America and England, he was appointed one of the commissioners to adjust the boundaries between New York and Pennsylvania. This work was done thoroughly and to the satisfaction of both commonwealths.

Clinton's war record shows him to have been a superb fighter and efficient commander. He was a good strategist and a thorough engineer. He only lacked the genius of moving large bodies to have been a worthy compeer of Washington. As Colonel and Brigadier he had no superior in the Continental forces. That his talents were properly appreciated is shown by all the opinions which have come down from revolutionary times. From Washington to the soldier in the ranks Clinton is invariably referred to in terms of love and approbation.

Washington's confidence in Clinton is well shown in a letter sent to the Council of Safety:

"Headquarters in the Clove, 22 July, 1777.

"Gentlemen: I am informed by General George Clinton that you have vested him with powers to call out the militia of the counties of Ulster, Orange, and Dutchess, and Westchester until the 1st of August, at which time the new legislature is summoned to meet.

"As it will probably be some time before the wheels of the new government can be put in motion, I am fearful that, unless this power is extended to a further time, there will be a vacancy between General Clinton's present commission and the enacting new laws by the legislature, a circumstance which at this time may prove most fatal in its consequences because, from the present appearance of matters, the enemy are upon the point of making some capital move. I could, therefore wish, if it can be done with propriety, that before your board is dissolved, you would extend this power of calling out the militia to General Clinton or some other person till such time as you may reasonably expect the new legislature will have met and proceeded regularly to business. I mention General Clinton or some other person, because as he will enter into his office of Governor of

the State upon the 1st of August, he cannot probably attend to the business of the militia. If you are of the opinion that he can, I would prefer him to any other. I have the honor to be gentlemen, your most obedient Serv't, "George Washington."

It is worth recording at this point that this letter of Washington's produced a reply which astonished and amused the American Commander-in-Chief. It was written by Pierre Van Cortlandt in the stately language of that period, which translated into modern speech was about as follows:

"Dear Sir: Your favor is at hand. I beg to inform you that the Governor of our State is also the Commander-in-Chief of all its forces and has a larger power than the body of which I am president (The Council of Safety). In making him our Governor, we have given him a larger authority than what you suggest."

That Clinton deserved all these commendations is shown in a variety of ways. Beneath the stalwart soldier was the kindly gentleman. No matter how excited in the campaign, he never lost sight of the amenities of life. He even consumed time in doing favors for the poor and the distressed. To destitute women he would give money and passes so that they could rejoin relatives in other parts of New York or in other Colonies. It made no difference whether the woman was of Colonial or Tory feeling, her sex made her sacred. It was the same thing with men who were in trouble. What could be more eloquent than the Governor's letter to Major-General McDougall.

"Poughkeepsie, 16th May, 1779.

"Dear Sir: This will be handed to you by Mr. James Grant, a half-pay officer in the British Service and who has been a Prisoner on parole ever since the

Commencement of the Present Controversy. I am informed that he has strictly complied with it & (in) all Respects, behaved with the greatest Prudence and Propriety & his general Character is that of great Truth and Integrity. He is very desirous of going to New York, where he says he has private business of Importance to him to transact (which I believe to be true) ; he applied to me a year ago for this Indulgence at a Time when it was not so convenient to grant it & before I was informed of his Character & has waited patiently for it ever since. I have now consented to his going and gave him my Pass on his obtaining your Permission, which I take for granted will not be refused, as an honest Scott merits a degree of Confidence as well as Indulgence."

On a par with this was his heroic rescue of a British officer in New York city just after the Revolution. While passing along the street the Englishman was attacked by a mob, his clothing torn and he put in a cart with intention of taking him to an open field, where he was to be tarred and feathered. Clinton happened upon the scene by accident and asked the meaning of the turmoil. On being told he sprang into the crowd, which parted on either side, knocked down one man who resisted him, seized the prisoner and carried him in his arms to the sidewalk, and then escorted him to a place of safety.

In the next six years ensued the development of the two great parties of the nation. Here Clinton rose to be one of the foremost leaders and statesmen of the land. He was always a believer in the people, and naturally gravitated toward Jefferson and the Republicans rather than toward Hamilton and the Federalists, but it took him some time to evolve from a States Rights man into a Nationalist. It was not that he was opposed to the idea of a great central government per se, but that he was fearful that this

might be employed for the crushing of liberty. His hold upon the public heart was phenomenal. Thus at one time while Governor the people insisted upon making him Lieutenant-Governor also. At three elections, he had no candidate against him. In 1795, in a public address, he refused a renomination for Governor on the ground that for almost thirty successive years he had held elective office and now wished to retire to private life. But in 1800, he allowed the city of New York to elect him to the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly and the following year he was again made Governor, this time over General Stephen Van Rensselaer, one of the most popular men of the State.

From 1789 up to 1808, he received at each presidential election a number of electoral votes for the Chief Magistracy of the Nation. In 1804 he was made Vice-President of the United States, being on the same ticket as Thomas Jefferson, and in 1808 re-elected, this time with President James Madison. While holding the office, he passed away.

In these political struggles Clinton displayed signal political talent, if not genius. He kept himself thoroughly in touch with the people, and almost invariably interpreted their wishes accurately. Where he took the initiative was in matters in which his education and superior knowledge made him a natural leader. It was he, for example who perceived the necessity of fortifying New York harbor, and after he had made an appeal to the authorities, they responded promptly to his request. He realized the danger which threatened the State from the Indian nations in the western part, and from the closing of the Revolution was a strong advocate of a definite Indian policy. A single act reveals his wisdom in this matter, and that was when in 1783, he induced General Washington to visit the Chiefs of the Sene-

cas, Cayugas and the Tuscaroras. To the redmen the honor was so great as to be a nine days' wonder, and it developed a feeling of gratitude and affection which lasted long after the parties to the action were no more.

It was while the Governor and President were making this voyage that Washington suggested the possibility of connecting the great lakes and tidewater. Two years later Clinton commended the project of Christopher Colles, a visionary inventor, who proposed the construction of a canal.

A careful study of his services during the long years he was Governor shows him to have been actuated by the deepest love and fidelity toward the Empire State. He foresaw its colossal future and tried to the best of his ability to facilitate its progress. In every respect he was a strong man. When the Massachusetts government was employing half-hearted measures toward the insurrectionists in the Daniel Shays' Rebellion, Governor Clinton, fearful that the disorder might spread to New York, took such prompt and vigorous action that the mutiny came to an end. In 1788, occurred the Doctor's riot in New York city. At that time there was no provision made for the dissecting rooms of medical students, and grave robberies were resorted to for the necessary supply of subjects. A party of medical students did this so wantonly as to excite popular indignation which culminated in a riot. Governor Clinton went immediately to the scene, and at the risk of his own safety plunged into the mob and endeavored to restore order. In spite of insult and abuse he exhausted his powers of persuasion. Finding his efforts ineffectual he ordered out the militia and dispersed the rioters at the point of the bayonet. There was no other riot during his administration.

His life may be divided into four great chapters,

each one of which is a romance in itself. In the first, he was the privateersman, lawyer and militia-man; in the second one of the great warriors of the Revolution; the third shows him as the Governor of the Empire State; and the fourth witnesses him in the Vice-President's chair. He carried to the nation capital the patriotism, power and probity which had marked his gubernatorial career.

In private life, he was dignified, frank, amiable and affectionate. Both his likes and dislikes were strong and strongly expressed. When government contractors put up the price of wood, he denounced them as specimens of "wooden patriotism." When the Continental troops were on the point of starvation one time, and the government had neither money nor credit, Clinton impressed several tons of flour, and so relieved the army's necessities.

One peculiarity was noticeable. He gloried in a superb physique, being of moderate stature but great breadth and muscularity. He was so proud of his health and strength that he would never confess to being ill even when suffering intense pain. On such occasions, he would endeavor to assuage his suffering by telling humorous stories and entertaining those around him.

Once when wounded, and an officer called his attention to blood trickling from his sleeve he laughed and said "it had come from an injured comrade, who had stood near him when shot."

In his old age he fainted while in a social gathering, and was kept from falling to the ground by a handsome matron who stood near. Upon recovering, he protested against any sympathy and asserted, with a twinkle in his eye, that it was his favorite habit to fall into the arms of beauty.

His wife was Cornelia Tappan, a member of the Knickerbocker family, which gave many prominent

men to the nation. She was cast in the same heroic mold as himself and shared with him many of the hardships of his long and earnest life. The union was a happy one and was blessed with one son and five daughters.

Had Clinton been a brilliant man, he would have been one of the great immortals of the Republic, but he did not possess the poetic genius, the power of conceiving great ideals, nor the talent of swaying men's actions by eloquence. His was the strength of a great physical, mental and moral nature. He was a builder rather than an architect, an artisan rather than an artist. Without him and men of his type the nation would have been an impossibility. Others like Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and Jay planned, while he executed.

In the Teutonic mythology the wizard performed wonders through having at his controls a kobold with muscles of steel, unearthly intelligence and tireless energy. The greater wizard, who drew the fabric of the Republic had for his first kobold, George Clinton of New York.

SAMUEL ADAMS

Born, September 27, 1722; Died, October 2, 1803.

Samuel Adams was the Richelieu of the American Revolution. In his knowledge of human nature, his mastery of men, his political generalship, his sacrifice of all personal ambition for the good of his country and his singleness of purpose, he is the very counterpart of the immortal cardinal. Where Richelieu was a soldier, Adams was a parliamentarian; the one was a leader of men upon the tented field; the other of men in the invisible battles of political conflict.

The great Massachusetts leader was a descendant of Henry Adams, of Devonshire, England, who crossed the ocean and settled in Braintree, Mass., in 1636. From him descended a race, which generation after generation has produced illustrious children of the Republic, and which can probably point to more members of distinction and public performance than any other family in the New World. Samuel's father was a wealthy Bostonian, who held a prominent place in the community. Deacon and Trustee, Justice of the Peace, Selectman and member of the Colonial Legislature were among the offices which he held with great credit. By the governing classes, he was respected but disliked, as he invariably opposed any extension of Crown privilege or any curtailment of popular rights and liberties. He was a politician of no mean ability. Few in those days perceived the principles upon which political action must be car-

ried on wherever there is to be honest, popular government. Among these were the elder Adams, who evolved methods strange enough in those days, but at the present time so common as to excite no comment. He formed clubs and societies in which he and his intimate friends were the moving spirits.

That which made him a power more than all others was one he had established in a district of the city devoted to maritime interests. Its members were captains, shipwrights, carpenters, caulkers, painters, supercargoes and ships storemen. By his political antagonists, it was known as the "Caulkers' Club," and on account of its meeting regularly in executive session, and always acting as a unit, the name by degrees evolved into the well known political word, "Caucus."

From the habit of the club members employing remarkable discipline in their political work came the slang phrase in election excitement "he is a caulker," meaning a delegate who obeyed his instructions no matter how great the pressure brought to bear to change his convictions and actions. The phrase continued long after the original vanished and was forgotten, and then degenerated into the ridiculous form "he (it) is a corker," a term still employed in New England and wherever New England influence is felt to indicate superiority or praiseworthiness in man, action, or thing.

With such a father, Samuel Adams could not be other than a clever politician. He was a leader among his playmates, the boys of the Boston Latin School and afterwards among the students at Harvard from which in 1740, he was graduated. In his student days he displayed the talents which were to mark him in after life. A good speaker, a strong debater, a quick writer and a tireless scholar, he kept himself prominently in the eyes of the high school and

the college. Beside these gifts, he was suave, self-possessed and tactful to the last degree. On one occasion he was the moving spirit of a party which determined to screw up a professor's door and so make that worthy an involuntary prisoner. As he began operations, he heard the professor coming to the door. With rare presence of mind, he rapped decorously and when the door was opened, he asked if it were true that the professor was sick and if he could be of any service in the premises. The pedagogue thanked the sympathetic student, and assured him that his only trouble came from the mischievous boys of the class. Whereupon the young statesman promptly acquiesced in the declaration, and asserted "that he was doing his best to keep his colleagues from engaging in objectionable mischief."

The young man's family destined him for a theological career. The son had a deep love for the bar. Fortunately or unfortunately, a compromise was effected and Samuel went into business. His commercial talents were limited, and only through his dogged patience did he earn a fair livelihood in the world of trade.

He might have succeeded but for the generosity of his nature. When he had money, he lent it to any friend, even when the hope of return was insignificant. To the plea of distress, he could never give a negative answer. Thus, although at one time he seems to have prospered as a brewer, so far as output or sales were concerned, yet the profits at the end of a year were notably small. He was not as was declared by malicious enemies, one of his own best customers: but from a financial point of view he was almost as bad. He would give credit to failing taphouses, to poor widows and every other type

of person to whom a prudent business man would never listen.

While his monetary returns were very small, his actions built up by degrees a veritable mountain of personal popularity. Hundreds of men, women and children regarded him as a second father, and among these there were scores who were attached to him so fiercely that the feeling might have been compared to that of a bull dog to its master. Though intellectual in a very high degree, he always had a warm love for the common people. He is said to have known every man by sight and name in the city of Boston. Young students, who were perplexed would stop him on the street for advice; blacksmiths would appeal to him as he went by to give them a hand with an unruly horse, children would call upon him to repair a broken toy, and anxious mothers would consult him often in preference to their physicians. He was humorous, but his humor was of that grim variety which marks the Puritanic character. In his case it was agreeable on account of his infinite tact. No matter how great the provocation, he never permitted his wit to inflict pain or to injure the self-respect of others.

To this democratic spirit and conduct may be ascribed much of his political success. His quick perception and powerful memory enabled him to ascertain in advance the sentiments of his fellow townsmen prior to any town meeting. When he appeared at the latter the views which he expressed were nearly always successful. People looked at him with amazement, because in many cases he took positions utterly opposed to those of the British administration, and even of the refined and educated classes of the community. They ascribed to him a personal power over the masses, which must have

amused him. It is highly probable that in every instance he knew fairly well in advance the strength of the movement which he represented, and being a shrewd politician, he never wasted energy by advocating a cause which he knew would not receive the support necessary to its success.

At the age of thirty, he was the town meeting leader of Boston, and enjoyed the prestige which comes with success. Those who believed that some men are lucky and others are born to good fortune, flocked around him as a leader. In this wise by the time he was forty, he was probably the strongest man politically in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Fortune favored him in several ways. In early life he had had the advantages of wealth, and college education; he belonged to a family which was numerous and influential and which then as now was marked by a justifiable family pride. He had become the leader of the middle and working classes through his intellectual and political abilities. This was a matter of greater power than it is today. Social divisions were not as marked in those days and Massachusetts society was comparatively uniform. It was rather stern, religious and conservative. It was also grave, zealous and determined. No one knew better than he, that when these men once made up their minds upon any course no Crown nor army could ever change it except by absolute extermination.

In 1764, the faint clouds upon the political horizon began to enlarge and darken. The proposed Stamp Act had become the subject of discussion, and its unjust provisions had aroused public opposition and resentment. None knew better than Adams the feeling of the townsmen on the subject. When the town meeting took place he spoke briefly but to the point. Every other speaker followed him employing

fiercer and more virulent argument than he had done. To the surprise of the community, it looked as if he had become conservative and the people radical. Such was the impression produced upon the governing classes who were therefore pleased when he was appointed to draft the instructions given by Boston to its delegates in the Colonial legislature.

But public feeling soon changed. In May, Adams made the draft, and it fairly rang with what the administration regarded as disloyalty. The mere fact that it came from the lips of their leader made it the law and the gospel of Boston's delegates and the legislature itself. Without knowing it, the man's personality had impressed the entire colony as well as the town in which he lived. In 1765, he was elected to the legislature, where he was continued in office for nine years. Here he was made clerk of the House, a position he filled with great skill. During this period he drew the larger part of the State papers, papers which will ever remain models of official workmanship. Within a year the administration came to regard the legislature as being "that man or that traitor Samuel Adams." As a matter of fact he was simply a fitting representative of the Colony. His feelings were their feelings; his nature their nature. His most daring performances were not exceptional because they would have been those of nearly every other member had he had a similar opportunity. But to the outside world, it looked as if he were the master mind of the body, and they were the puppets and pawns which moved when he pulled the wires.

In 1767, immediately upon the passage of the Townshend acts, he wrote the petition of the Assembly to the King, a letter of instruction to the Massachusetts Colonial Agent in London, and what was

the momentous paper of all a Circular Letter addressed to the other twelve Colonies inviting them to aid Massachusetts in the defense of the rights and liberties of America. Copies of all three papers were soon in the hands of the British monarch and cabinet. Astonishment rivaled rage in their minds, when they read the contents.

A royal order was immediately sent to Governor Bernard, requiring him to command the legislature to rescind or withdraw the Circular Letter under penalty of dissolution and other punishments. There were weak men in the Assembly but they formed a minority. The Governor's communication was made the subject of a long discussion, in which Adams was the hero of the debate, and then by a vote of 92 to 17 the legislature refused to rescind its action. This determination was greeted with applause by patriotic colonials in every community and denounced by the supporters of the government, who in the coming struggle were to be the Tories of that time. It increased the bitter feeling in London, which now regarded Boston as the hotbed of rebellion and Samuel Adams as the arch rebel.

So strong was this feeling, that when in 1770 Samuel Adams, after a fiery town meeting in which more than five thousand Boston citizens were present, offered the resolutions which he had himself drawn and which had been passed amid wild cheers of the citizens demanding that the two regiments garrisoned in Boston should be removed to the castle in the harbor, and the troops after long negotiation were transferred, they were afterwards known in parliament as the "Sam Adams" regiments.

In 1772, in order to get around some legal forms which interfered with popular action, Adams devised a scheme which was to play a strong part in the Revolutionary drama. The English cabinet, with a

view of punishing the Colonial malcontents in the local courts, determined to make the judges Crown officers payable from the royal purse instead of Colonial officials payable from the local treasury. This scheme would have made every tribunal a political engine to be manipulated by the Throne. The announcement aroused indignant protests throughout Massachusetts. The judges were notified that they would be impeached if they should consent to the transfer and receive their salaries from the royal treasurer. A town meeting was held and a resolution passed unanimously asking Governor Hutchinson to convene the legislature to take action upon the matter. As the law stood the legislature could only meet when so ordered by the Governor. Without the latter's initiative it had no power nor jurisdiction. The Governor promptly refused, and Adams just as promptly suggested that the towns of the Colony should appoint committees of correspondence to consult with one another upon public affairs. This practically started a new autonomus and independent Assembly in Massachusetts. Within a few days the idea had been taken up and acted upon. Within a few months the eighty leading towns had elected Committees, and the whole system was in operation.

This move was a stroke of genius. Yet for nearly a year no one perceived its full significance outside of its author. It was discussed throughout the Colonies and praised in a lukewarm way. It was all very well, said critics but "*cui bono?*" How would it change matters? The royal officials in Massachusetts and other Colonies either treated it with contempt or else laughed at it in derision.

On March 3, 1773, Dabney Carr of Virginia moved in the House of Burgesses to appoint intercolonial committees of correspondence for the consideration of plans looking to the public welfare and protecting

the Colonies against royal encroachment. He made an eloquent and scholarly address in favor of the resolution, which was adopted by the House. This was done after a careful discussion between Carr and his brother-in-law, Thomas Jefferson, and probably expressed the views of the latter as much as those of the mover of the resolution. If these committees had done nothing more they would have been of invaluable service in that for the first time they brought the Colonies together as a single body of men. Now they began to coalesce into an organic whole. Adams foresaw that the system of committees was bound to have two results; first, it would be adopted by all of the other Colonies, and second that it would develop into forms of state and national government. Both of these occurred. In Massachusetts by degrees the management of public affairs was voluntarily entrusted to the Committees of Boston and the five adjacent towns. At the head of this subcommittee, if it may be so termed, was Samuel Adams.

On December 16, 1773, occurred the memorable Boston Tea Party. A crowd of stalwart men, chosen by Adams and his committee, boarded the English tea ships in the harbor and emptied three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the sea. The shores were crowded by patriotic citizens, who cheered the transaction to the echo, and at its close departed quietly to their homes.

The British ministry was infuriated at this outrage, as they termed it, and in April, 1774, a series of acts were passed by Parliament closing the Port of Boston, annulling the charter of Massachusetts, and placing the Colony practically under martial law.

Probably Adams had foreseen all this and made preparations for the event. He certainly had worked with care to start the movement for a Continental

Congress, and had familiarized the public mind with the immediate necessity for such a body. In doing this he displayed a statesmanship of rare excellence. In those days Massachusetts was very unpopular with the other Colonies. Its reputation was that of austerity, intolerance, obstinacy and gloom. Knickerbocker New York disliked it on account of its greed. Knickerbocker New Jersey shared these sentiments; Pennsylvania, the Quaker State, remembered only too well the cruelty shown by the Old Colony to the peaceful followers of Fox. The cavalier Colonies still treasured up some antagonism to the descendants of the Roundheads. If the suggestion for a Continental Congress had come from Massachusetts, Samuel Adams knew full well that it would meet with a feeble response. With inimitable craft he induced his friends and correspondents in the other Colonies to inspire Virginia to take the initiative. His scheme worked to perfection. Virginia made the call and the Colonies responded. It is amusing to note that Adams worked so skillfully that no one at the time gave him credit in the affair. When the summons was issued for a Continental Congress, a few patriots were fearful that Massachusetts would not join the movement. There must have been some ground for this fear judging from the course Adams took in the Assembly hall when the legislature of Massachusetts met at Salem on June 17, 1774. The moment the delegates were seated, he locked the door and put the key in his pocket. Taking the floor, he put through the measures for having Massachusetts represented at the Continental Congress in September. Two Tory members tried to jump out of the window but were hauled ignominiously back. A third feigned sickness and was allowed to go out in charge of a clerk, but the moment he got outside pushed the clerk over

and ran at full speed to the Governor. The latter immediately drew up a writ dissolving the legislature and handed it to a clerk to serve upon that body. Accompanied by a guard the latter marched to the hall but found all doors locked and barred. While waiting outside for an opportunity to get in and serve the writ, the legislature finished its business and adjourned sine die, the motion to adjourn, one of the most delicious bits of parliamentary humor in our early history, having been made by Adams. The next legislature of Massachusetts was called by the People and not by the Crown.

At the first Continental Congress Samuel Adams, John Adams, Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine went from the Bay State. There were fifty-three delegates in the Convention, representing the flower of colonial manhood. Doubtless all realized in a vague way the majesty of the occasion, but for the time being they were perplexed with the strangeness of the situation. It was the first time the Colonies had come together in a representative body. Heretofore, they had been appendages of Great Britain, whose sole authority was the Crown. Today they were representatives and leaders, each of his own Commonwealth, recognizing no authority but right and justice. They were more or less distrustful of one another. Here together were Pilgrim and Puritan, Knickerbocker and Huguenot, Quaker and Anglican, soldiers, lawyers, planters, merchants, officials and adventurers.

On occasions such as this the political intellect comes to dominate the rest. Of all those present the craftiest and deepest was Samuel Adams. His conduct at this Congress was almost Machiavellian. He realized that nothing must intervene which would impair the harmony of the gathering and that all personal feelings and tastes must be sub-

ordinated, if not sacrificed for the public good. He saw clearly that Virginia and Pennsylvania were to be placated and compromised. The moment he arrived in Philadelphia he set about making the acquaintance of every delegate to the Congress. When the meeting was called to order, he probably was the only man there who knew everyone else by name and sight.

Determined that Virginia should become the leading colony of the convention he inquired among its delegates as to its ablest man, and found that Peyton Randolph was regarded as its most distinguished lawyer. Going to the South Carolina delegation, he picked out the finest looking man, Thomas Lynch, and suggested that if South Carolinian would nominate Randolph, Massachusetts would be only too glad to second the nomination on account of the lawyer's high distinction. This suited South Carolina perfectly, which had come to the Congress fearful that New England would try to run the affair in its own interests. Similar maneuvers created a Randolph sentiment, so that when Lynch named the Virginian, he was elected president by acclamation. Equally diplomatic was his treatment of the motion to open the proceedings with prayer. This was opposed by John Jay, who, though a very religious man, declared that he did not think it was right for him to force his views upon others, whose faith might require them to object to such action; that there were at least five sects in Congress, and it could not be expected that they should unite in formal worship. As Jay seated himself Samuel Adams rose and with his matchless suavity declared that he was no bigot and could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue, who was at the same time a friend of his country. "I am a stranger in Philadelphia, but I have

heard that the Rev. Mr. Duche deserves the character I have mentioned, and I therefore move that Mr. Duche, an Episcopal clergyman, be pleased to read prayers for this Congress."

This was a thunderbolt, and before the surprise died away it was seconded by John Adams, who had been already coached by his crafty cousin, and went through without dissent. Religious feeling was very strong in those years and Adams's action was most felicitous. Of the delegates present a majority of the New York, Virginian and South Carolinian members were Episcopalians. Mr. Duche was exceedingly popular in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, and had many friends in New Jersey. He was moreover a fine looking, eloquent man who would grace any pulpit. Some people have gone so far as to say that Adams picked him out the day before and had him at the hall on purpose. At any rate his performance was like throwing oil upon troubled waters. It pleased the Episcopalians and it gratified the Middle and Southern colonies.

The work of this convention appears to have been directed throughout by Samuel Adams. He sat writing memoranda, and though taking the floor but little and briefly himself, he talked with and wrote to every speaker and gave information upon every point which came before the House. To nearly all present, he gave the impression of a quiet, well-bred, highly educated gentleman of remarkable urbanity and kindness. Only two men measured him correctly. One was Patrick Henry, of Virginia, who said: that "the good that was to come from these Congresses was owing to the work of Adams" and the other was the traitor-member, Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania who had promised with the other fellow members to make public no part of the transaction and who wrote to the

British government that "Samuel Adams eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, and thinks much. He is most decisive and indefatigable in the pursuit of his object. He is the man who, by his superior application manages at once the faction in Philadelphia and the factions of New England."

Other government agents sent similar messages to London, which resulted in the British Cabinet dispatching an order to General Gage to arrest Samuel Adams and his tool John Hancock, and send them over to London to be tried on a charge of high treason. The London newspapers in commenting on the news predicted gleefully that their heads would soon ornament Temple Bar, according to the barbarous custom then in vogue. An officer was detailed to make the arrests which was to take place on April 19, 1775, but fortunately the tidings leaked out and Paul Revere managed to warn Adams in time. He left his house a half hour before the soldiers arrived and reached Philadelphia in time for the Second Congress.

This was easier sailing than the first, but had its own difficulties and trials. He got through all with consummate address. Two incidents are worthy of notice. One was his making John Hancock president of the body, not because he desired to give his friend any particular honor, correspondents of the time say, but for the reason that Hancock had formed some views which Adams thought unwise, and to prevent that vote being cast, he placed Hancock in the chair. The other was his securing the appointment of George Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces. He realized the latter's military genius, and at the same time desired to conciliate the great colony of Virginia. In the third Continental Congress he delivered the famous address which even today is the delight of

schoolboys. It was in this noble speech that he enunciated the words:

"We have explored the Temple of Royalty and found that the idol we have bowed down to has eyes which see not, ears that hear not our prayers, and a heart like the nether millstone. We have this day restored the Sovereign to whom alone men ought to be obedient. He reigns in Heaven and with a propitious eye beholds His subjects assuming that freedom and thought and dignity of self-direction which He bestowed on them. From the rising to the setting of the sun, may His Kingdom come."

In 1776 he signed the Declaration of Independence, and until 1782 was the most energetic member of the Continental government.

He took part in framing the State Constitution of Massachusetts. On the adoption of that instrument he was made president of the State Senate. In 1789 he was made Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1794 Governor. The latter part of his life was uneventful, in fact his career really closed when the Colonies became a nation. In the Bay State he found himself in what to his temperament must have been a very painful position. A deep feeling had grown up between the federalist and republican parties. His political instincts were in favor of the former, his personal liking for the latter. As between Hamilton and Jefferson he was a follower of the Virginian. During the long struggle between the Colonies and the Crown his hands were held up by his second wife Elizabeth Wells, who though a royalist of the strongest kind before marriage, became a self-sacrificing patriot afterwards. Even in the darkest hours when she was compelled to suffer, oftentimes wanting the necessities of life, she never complained but resolutely counselled her husband to keep up the good fight if necessary until death. On one occasion, when

about to attend Congress, Adams found that he had neither coat nor horse, and only enough cash to pay his expenses on the trip. His good wife, tradition says, borrowed both of these articles from John Adams and a friend and thus equipped him for the journey.

He gave the best part of his life to his country, and the life of his oldest son Samuel who served through the long struggle as a surgeon, and who died laboring in a military hospital.

In political activity, and statesmanlike qualities Samuel Adams was easily the first of the Colonial leaders. He had one mistress, his country, and to her he consecrated all the elements of his being. He cared little or nothing for wealth, place or distinction. In all things he was an ideal patriot.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON

Born, January 15, 1716; Died, June 12, 1778.

A scholar, merchant and patriot, who in his declining years gave up everything for the rights of the people, to whom he belonged, and who, when his body was undermined by illness, and labor meant death, willingly paid the price in order that he might assist the cause of liberty, was Philip Livingston, better known in historic annals as Philip the Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

He was a great grandson of the Rev. John Livingston, the famous Scottish Divine, who on account of his faith was obliged to leave Scotland for Holland in the middle of the seventeenth century. His grandfather Robert came to the New World and settled in New York, where he bought a vast tract of land in what is now Columbia and Dutchess counties, and for which, he obtained a grant from King George I. This made the Livingstons Lords of the Manor of Livingston and put them on a legal and social par with the Dutch patroons. They were a stern, devout and intellectual race, and possessed to a marked degree the qualities which insure success in any calling, involving the steady exercise of the mental faculties.

Philip the Signer was a fair type of his race, differing from his ancestors in a greater suavity and pleasanter manners. These doubtless represented the softening influence of the New World. Education was at a low ebb in the Colony of New York so far as the higher branches were concerned. Philip re-

ceived his first training, as did most of the youths of his class, from his mother, tutors, and the village clergyman. He progressed so rapidly as to attract notice from his parents' many friends. Upon their advice his father sent him to Yale college in 1733. This was an extraordinary event in those days for many reasons. There was considerable jealousy between New York and Connecticut, and more especially between the lords of the manors and the Connecticut Yankees. In addition were the religious prejudices of the age. The Livingstons were strict Presbyterians, a sect at that time closely allied to the Dutch Reformed Church. Both of these were suspicious of the Anglican Church, and for excellent reasons, and at the time there was a strong though unjust suspicion that Anglican influences were at work in Yale.

The young man matriculated, studied hard, made a fine record for scholarship and was graduated in 1737.

After graduation, he was apparently entered by his father as a student in the Middle Temple, London, but from the first he seems to have had no great taste for the law, but a strong tendency toward commerce. Three years afterwards, he was an active business man in New York who was held in high esteem by the merchants of the time. He was one of the first college-bred merchants in the city, and even in 1746 was described "as one of the fifteen persons in the colony of New York, who possessed a collegiate education."

He must have had the same broad commercial talent that marked John Hancock in Boston, and in fact the careers of the two men present a striking parallel. At the age of thirty-five Livingston was not only wealthy but was looked upon as one of the commercial leaders of the little city. He did not allow the

pursuit of wealth to dominate his nature. He kept up his family relations by regular visits to Albany and the Manor. He took part in public affairs and was active at the local elections. A college man himself, he was solicitous for the elevation of educational standards, and was one of the group of men through whose efforts Kings, afterwards Columbia College, came into being in 1754.

At this time he became one of the seven aldermen of New York. He made so excellent an official that his constituents returned him eight consecutive times. His electioneering was notable for its stately courtesy and activity. New York had less than fifteen thousand population, and probably not more than two thousand electors. In his district were some four hundred of these, and upon each one he called during the campaign. The population was of mixed nationality, Irish and Germans giving variety to the Dutch, English and New England citizenship. He was elected to the Twenty-eighth Provincial Assembly as a delegate from New York city, in 1759. Here his record was admirable, and was rewarded by re-election to the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Assemblies as a member from New York, and to the Thirty-first as a member from Livingston Manor.

This change in district conceals a number of notable facts. In the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Assemblies, which lasted from 1761 to 1769, Livingston had been a strong upholder of Colonial rights. When the Thirtieth Assembly was dissolved in January, 1769, he had incurred the animosity of the Governor. So many complaints had come from England that the Governor's party determined as far as possible to carry the Thirty-first Assembly. They managed affairs so well that Livingston found that there was no chance of his being elected in New York, his former position having been given to John Cruger.

He therefore had himself elected from the Livingston Manor, belonging to his family. This was a thunderbolt to the Tories, who immediately set about concocting some scheme which would undo his election. They unearthed precedents in regard to domicile, and although these contravened the Livingston Manorial rights yet they presented them, when the Thirty-first Assembly convened and put them through, dismissing their foe from his seat for non-residence in May, of that year, 1769.

His development into a revolutionary advocate was very gradual. As late as 1759, Great Britain had no more loyal son than Philip Livingston. In the General Assembly of that year he was the leader on the floor of what was then the patriotic party. War was raging between England and France, and the Mother country needed the assistance of its Colonies. New York responded nobly and supplied men, munitions and money with a generous hand, Livingston contributed from his private purse, and through his vast knowledge and mental discipline was enabled to act as an executive in the Colonial war movement in New York. And yet in this very action it is easy to see the same class of motives that were to influence him before another decade had passed.

In those days the Colonial merchant in the English colonies enjoyed a freedom which his colleague in French territory did not possess. While France was theoretically kind, and helpful in its paternal rule, yet the theory did not work, nor coincide with practice. Monopolies, official fees and cruel laws harassed colonial commerce to such an extent that Canadian trade paid profit to scarcely any one save the courtiers, who benefited by the fiscal system. Livingston with his trained eye saw that the expulsion of France from the New World meant more than the extension of freedom; it involved a far greater commercial fu-

ture which was to benefit both Canada and the English colonies. From the first, he favored the movement which would extend the British ensign over the American continent.

The wisdom of his views in matters of this sort was exemplified in another way by his correspondence with Edmund Burke. The English statesman had been appointed Colonial Agent for both the State and the city upon the death of Robert Charles, the former incumbent. Livingston was the chairman of the special committee which conducted the official correspondence with the agency, and in fact wrote himself, it is said, many of the letters which passed from New York to London. These were models which were long held up for admiration in the eighteenth century. Excellent from a literary point of view, they were marked also by a wonderful and accurate knowledge of facts, a grasp of legal and commercial principles, and a breadth of judgment which amounted to practical statesmanship. Burke recognized the strong personality on the other side of the ocean and put these letters by, as authoritative literature on all matters pertaining to the new world. They were, indeed, a series of lectures more thorough and complete than any publications to be had upon the subject. They gave Burke the information, whose vast extent astonished his admirers in Parliament and enabled him to disprove and even annihilate arguments adduced by the British Ministry. He generously gave credit to his American correspondent in the premises.

In 1764, Livingston drew the address to Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden in which he used language so outspoken in regard to Colonial freedom and royal taxation that several Tories pronounced the document treasonable. The following year he was sent as a delegate from New York to the Colon-

ial, better known as the Stamp Act Congress. Only nine Colonies were represented in this body, the Governors of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia refusing to call special Assemblies for what they regarded as improper and unconstitutional purposes. The fourth absentee Colony, New Hampshire, regarded it as imprudent to send delegates, but forwarded a dispatch in which they declared their sympathies with the movement and promising to stand by all that was done.

New York sent Livingston as a delegate to the First Continental Congress which met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. The City of Brotherly Love in that era was not two hours distant from New York. The voyage was a memorable event, and on this occasion it was made a gala affair by the patriotic citizens of the little Metropolis. The people turned out en masse with flags flying and music playing to escort their delegates to the wharves from which they set sail for Amboy. Livingston, accompanied by James Duane and John Alsop, walked down Broad street to the foot of the thoroughfare, and there embarked upon a ferryboat. From house to wharf the delegates were accompanied with an enthusiastic throng which increased at every step until it was a solid army of cheering men and applauding women. When they reached the Exchange the street was blocked and the crowd called for a speech. Alsop thanked the people in a short but forceful address and promised that he and his colleagues would leave no stone unturned to bring back happiness to the colony.

At the wharf there was another demonstration and Livingston replied with eloquence and power. As the boat cast off the people cheered madly and gave a salvo of artillery from some field pieces which they had borrowed for the occasion. The leaders of the

procession then adjourned to St. George's Tavern where they drank confusion to the British Ministry and health and success to their delegates. Dame Rumor says that Livingston, Alsop and Duane had left five pounds with the landlord to supply the wants of those who were too poor to buy their own beverages.

The Congress, though brief, voiced in its proceedings the sentiments of the thirteen commonwealths. It approved the opposition of Massachusetts to the enforcement of the tyrannical laws which had been passed respecting that colony. It adopted a declaration of rights in which it asked the repeal of the eleven enactments which had created the troubles between the Mother country and themselves. It unanimously resolved to import no merchandise from Great Britain after the first day of the ensuing December, unless the colonial grievances were redressed. It appointed a Committee, on which was Philip Livingston, to prepare an address to the people of Great Britain. It closed on October 26th with a Petition to the King for justice, which like the appeal to Pharaoh merely hardened the heart of that unjust monarch. And then as if to give warning of more important action thereafter, it made all the arrangements for the holding of a new Congress the next May.

The following spring a Provincial convention was held in New York city, which appointed delegates to the Second Continental Congress. The new delegation had a stronger personnel than its predecessor, and foremost in its ranks was Philip Livingston. In addition to these honors, it should be remembered at this point that Livingston had also been a member of the Committee of Fifty, and thereafter of the Committee of Sixty, better known as the Committee of Observation.

The following year the Continental Congress passed the Declaration of Independence, and on the fifteenth day of July such delegates as had not gone to their various posts of duty signed that immortal instrument. Of the New York delegation but four had remained at Philadelphia and of these Philip Livingston was one. His signing was a fitting climax to the arduous labor he had performed for popular rights and liberties. Overwork had broken down his health and in 1775 and 1776 he suffered constantly from dropsy and cardiac troubles. It was against the advice of his physician and the entreaties of those near and dear to him that he had gone to Philadelphia, White Plains and other places where political duty called him. There was something singularly heroic in this man braving risk and danger and leaving a great business and a happy and beautiful home to take part in exciting scenes where death was liable to come to him at a moment's notice. It required a deeper courage than that of the soldier who goes into battle under the fierce excitement of war's display. Congress appreciated the man's mercantile talents by appointing him a member of the Board of Treasury, and the following year a member of the Marine Committee. He worked steadfastly in both committees as well as in Congress, found time to attend to other duties in New York, and was a member of the association formed to carry out the commercial boycott against Great Britain.

Of the Provincial Congress and the Assembly, he was a distinguished member, and in 1777, under the new State constitution was elected a State Senator from New York city. At these various conventions, where he was so conspicuous a figure, he must have felt the highest kind of family pride and joy upon realizing the superb strength of the race to which he belonged. Every roll call was almost a roster of

his race. From Albany county in the North came Peter R. and Walter; from Dutchess, Gilbert, James, Robert R., and Robert R. II; from New York, Peter Van Brugh and himself. These were visible to his eye, while in his mind's eye rose the stalwart forms of twenty younger men of his race ready to come forward and take the places of their elders, the moment duty called them. Across in Jersey was the dauntless William Livingston, who was to be the war governor of that State, while from New York to Albany were thirty nephews and cousins on the maternal side of the house, who were as patriotic and dauntless as those of his own name.

This feeling of pride must have offset the consciousness that his hours were numbered and that at any moment he was liable to pass away. At Philadelphia, during the memorable debate that preceded the Declaration of Independence he was so overcome by the heat and excitement that for several days he had to be helped in and out of the hall. After he had signed the document, he shook hands with his Congressional colleagues, telling them it was for the last time and then added, "But I pray that I get to New York and do a little more for the cause, before I am called."

In May, he left home to attend to his official duties knowing that he was on the verge of another world. Disease had made such progress that his life was a question of days, if not of hours. Foreseeing the end he wrote his people a valedictory letter in which he said that he would never see them again and that much as he desired to die in his own home, he must blot out all desires for the sake of the public good.

He expired on June 12th, with none of his kindred near him, excepting his son Henry, then eighteen years of age, who was serving as a secretary-clerk to General George Washington.

Congress honored him in death by appropriate obsequies, and by going into mourning for one month. It passed resolutions of respect and gratitude, which have been forgotten. His life's work and his consecration to the American people were and will be his epitaph.

ROGER SHERMAN

Born, April 19, 1721; Died, July 23, 1793.

From a cottage where poverty was his co-tenant, led by a clear intellect and a spirit of the noblest rectitude to a pedestal in the hall of fame, is in brief the life record of Roger Sherman, Signer of the Declaration of Independence. He came of an English family of Dedham, Essex county, England, which sent its strongest offspring to the New World and in the male line became extinct in its old home. It thrived in the colonies and thereafter the Republic, and added many great names to American history. Among warriors, it produced General William Tecumseh Sherman; among statesmen, Senator John Sherman, and on the female side Senators William M. Evarts and George Frisbie Hoar.

But its first and perhaps greatest name is that of the Signer of the Declaration. Roger's father was a farmer to whom fortune was not overkind in her favors. The returns of his farm at Stoughton, Mass., being small he eked out his income by shoemaking. The boy farmed and made shoes like his father before him. He attended the little country school of his district, where he learned all that was taught, but this was the smallest part of his education. His leisure time, he devoted to study. Insatiable book-hunger consumed him. He burned the midnight oil constantly and had an open book in front of him while pegging and sewing boots. When a mere child, he won the friendship of the Rev. Sam-

uel Dunbar, the minister of the congregation to which his family belonged. This acquaintanceship was of value, as the good divine aided him in his studies and allowed him the run of a well-stocked library. With no other help than this, the youth became proficient in geography, history, mathematics, astronomy, surveying, logic, law, and politics. He does not seem at this time to have cared for either fiction or poetry. When he was twenty-two years of age the Sherman family removed to Milford, Connecticut, where Roger worked on the cobbler's bench until he secured employment as a surveyor. Two years afterwards he was appointed surveyor of lands for the county of New Haven, which position he held for that county for five years, and thereafter for Litchfield county until 1758.

He was a rapid and accurate worker and soon made for himself an excellent professional reputation. Foreseeing the growth of that part of the colony, he utilized his leisure time in real estate speculation, which proved as profitable as his surveying. His popularity ere long began to tell. Office was offered to him and accepted, and from 1748 he was a conspicuous figure in town affairs.

Between this year and 1761, he seems to have held nearly every elective and appointive office within the gift of his town. The churches of the neighborhood utilized his business ability by making him a committeeman in every affair which required energy, intelligence and probity. His interest in public questions was broad and not confined to his own personal business. He was foremost in matters of public relief, and was one of the earliest advocates of vaccination, which he introduced into New Milford.

When his brother William desired to increase his business, he advanced the requisite capital and be-

came a partner until the former's death and then the sole owner. His management was very profitable, but on account of the pressure of other matters in 1760, he sold out. In 1752, a new phase of his character was brought into notice in the form of a pamphlet upon the currency question in which he gave a clear and philosophic exposition of the laws of credit and financial exchange. He had already made a name for himself as an almanac maker, the first of these productions having appeared in 1750. He seems to have performed the mathematical work for the Ames Almanac as would appear from a letter to Nathaniel Ames.

New Milford, July 14, 1753.

Sr:—I received your letter this day and return you thanks for the papers you sent inclosed. I find that there was a considerable mistake in the calculation of the two lunar eclipses, which I sent to you in my last letter, which was occasioned by my mistake in taking out the mean motion of the sun for the radical year, and I have now sent inclosed (them) with the rest of the eclipses as I have since calculated them for the meridian of New London, which I reckon 4 hours and 52 min. west from London—I have also sent one of my Almanacks. I expect to go to New Haven in August next and I will enquire of Mr. Clap about the comet you mentioned and will write to you what intelligence I can get from him about it the first opportunity—I am, Sr, your very

humble servt,

Roger Sherman.

This letter is an invisible picture of the man's wonderful growth. The poor young cobbler had at the age of thirty-two achieved name, fame and competence. The communication in style, contents and power of thought is equal to the best production of

a Harvard or Yale professor of the time. During this period he had begun to enlarge his mental horizon and to take up the study of poetry. The quotations in his almanacs show that he preferred the works of Milton, Young, Dryden, Pope, Prior, Herbert and Denham. He had also continued his study of the law, and had made such progress that upon the advice of several legal friends he applied for admission to the bar, and to his surprise and delight passed the examination with flying colors.

Admitted in February, 1754, within a year he had done so well that the General Assembly appointed him a Justice of the Peace. His progress in his new calling was like that in his other vocations. In 1759, he was made Justice of the Quorum, and ipso facto, a member of the Court of Common Pleas. He was growing too large for the town, and in May, 1755, the people elected him to the General Assembly, of which body he was a member off and on until 1761. At forty years of age, the butterfly emerged from the chrysalis, and Roger Sherman removed from New Milford to New Haven.

He had come to New Milford poor and unknown, he went away wealthy, full-powered, distinguished and beloved. In his new home, he astonished everyone by giving up law and engaging in mercantile pursuits. To these he devoted eleven years of his life, and then consigned the business to his son William. Into commerce, he brought the wide knowledge and trained intellect which were characteristic of the man. He not alone supplied the community with staples but he built up new lines of trade, where he knew a supply would engender an ensuing demand. Before that time, there was no regular book business in New Haven although Yale College was then a prominent feature of town life. Sherman kept a full line of standard books, in addition to

which, he imported the latest publications from New York and Boston, London and Paris. His enterprise was a seven days' wonder and made his store the headquarters of the literary and collegiate elements of the place. According to the common people, he knew more about books than either the professors or the college librarian. The bar and the bench kept up their friendship with him as did the legislators and officials. In this way, he became the centre of a social circle of great power and extent.

The moment he reached New Haven, Yale College called upon him for a donation. He promptly subscribed one of the largest gifts of the year. He did other favors for the institution which determined to add him to their administrative force. Elected treasurer of the College in 1765, he discharged the duties of that office with great ability for eleven years. His treasurership must have given great satisfaction, because in 1768 the College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

His popularity was not confined to the College. The year he became treasurer he was made Justice of the Peace for New Haven county, and Justice of the Quorum. The following year promotion awaited him in an appointment to a judgeship of the Superior Court, where he dispensed justice for twenty-three years, when he resigned to take a seat in the First Congress of the United States under the present Constitution.

When the questions came into being which were to culminate in the American Revolution, Sherman was outspoken in his advocacy of colonial rights. In New England, James Otis was regarded as a radical leader, and when his pamphlet, "The Rights of the British Colonies" appeared in 1764 it was hailed by most readers as the very voice of patriotism, but the stern Puritan nature of Sherman went farther

than the fiery impulses of the Massachusetts lawyer.

"It was a good paper," quoth he, "but from a logical point of view it concedes to the British Parliament too much power over the Colonies."

The position taken by Sherman at that time is the keynote of his attitude and conduct to the end of his life. He had neither fear nor respect for a form of government whose only claim to authority was time-honored precedent. He believed in liberty, order, justice and right, and for these he was willing to sacrifice wealth, home, personal liberty and even life itself. If he loved liberty, he hated license. Equal with freedom in his eyes were law and order. The excesses of the "Sons of Liberty" were denounced by him with as much force and temper as by any royalist. His opinions were summed up in his own quaint way in a letter, he wrote to Matthew Griswold.

"Sir: I hope you will excuse the freedom which I take of mentioning, for your consideration, some things which appear to me a little extraordinary, and which I fear (if persisted in) may be prejudicial to the interest of the Colony—more especially the late practice of great numbers of people assembling and assuming a kind of legislative authority, passing and publishing resolves and &c—will not the frequent assembling such bodies of people, without any laws to regulate or govern their proceedings, tend to weaken the authority of the government, and naturally possess the minds of the people with such disorders and confusion as will not be easily suppressed or reformed? especially in such a popular government as ours, for the well ordering of which good rules, and a wise, steady administration are necessary."

When the Colonial merchants made their non-importation agreement Sherman was the active

member of the New Haven committee appointed to secure its enforcement. This body sent out a letter which became famous throughout the land, the first clause being quoted and requoted for more than a generation. It was as follows:

“New Haven, July 26, 1770.

“Gent:

“The time has now come for us whether we will be freemen or slaves.” * * *

Sherman's attitude in these exciting years was the same as that of John Adams. It is well summed up in his letter to Thomas Cushing of Boston, wherein Sherman writes, “It is a fundamental principle in the British constitution, and I think must be in every free state, that no laws bind the people but such as they consent to be governed by, therefore, so far as the people of the Colonies are bound by laws made without their consent, they must be in a state of slavery or absolute subjection to the will of others: if this right belongs to the people of the Colonies, why should they not claim it and enjoy it. If it does not belong to them as well as to their fellow subjects in Great Britain, how came they to be deprived of it?”

To the British Ministry this was treason absolute, and as a matter of fact it rather startled many of the patriotic Colonials themselves. Most of the leaders of that time, including such men as James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Dickinson and Philip Livingston, believed that Parliament had the right to bind the Colonies by regulations of commerce to an almost unlimited extent. The three great exceptions in the Colonies were Roger Sherman of Connecticut, John Adams of Massachusetts, and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.

At the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, Connecticut was represented by Eliphalet Dyer,

Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane. Dyer and Sherman were appointed upon the Committee on the Declaration of Rights. Here again arose the old question respecting the right of Parliament to regulate trade. Five colonies conceded it, five denied it, and two were divided. As a whole the Committee stood six colonies against six. Upon every vote taken by that body Sherman's name was to be found upon the side of liberty.

At the second Congress, in 1775, Sherman, Dyer and Deane again represented Connecticut. When it came to the appointment of Washington as Commander-in-chief, Sherman did not manifest the tact of Samuel Adams. He was opposed to Washington (whom personally he admired greatly) because the army besieging the British garrison in Boston was all from New England, had its own general, whom it loved and had manifested its ability to check the English arms at that point. But when it came to the ballot Sherman realized the wisdom of Adam's idea and cast his vote for Washington.

During this year, Sherman never wearied in preparing Connecticut for the coming fray. In addition to his patriotism, he had a personal interest in the matter because with his consent his son Isaac, then a young man of twenty-two, had entered the Continental Army, in Massachusetts. The youth had already made a good record, and the father with as much paternal pride as patriotism aided his son in making the latter's company one of the most efficient in the Colonial forces around Boston. From the correspondence between the two it is easy to infer that in the fall of 1775, Roger furnished Isaac "with a genteel hanger, a yard and a half of superfine scarlet broadcloth with suitable trimmings for a coat of uniform and a piece of Holland."

In 1776, he appears to have been one of the most

active men in Congress. There seems scarcely to have been a committee of importance but of which he was a member. In the debate upon the basis of representation there were many schools of thought. Some believed that it should be population, others wealth, and still others favored the State as a unit. Sherman, with wisdom and foresight, advocated a compromise plan which eleven years later, he suggested at the Constitutional convention, and was adopted by that body, whereby representation should have a double basis, first the Colonies as units, and second the people as individuals.

In all measures there should be a majority of each to make any bill law. As he wisely pointed out, if the basis were wealth it would enable the rich colonies to dominate the poor ones. If it were mere numbers two or three large colonies would shut out all the small ones. If the colonies were to be used as units, the smallest, poorest and least numerous might offset and control the largest, most populous and powerful.

His services during the Revolution were marked by patriotism and wisdom. In the dispute which arose between New Hampshire and New York, which concerned the territory (that afterwards became Vermont), Sherman took a bold stand for the settlers rather than for the litigants. Upon the currency question, he opposed flat money as far as possible and tried to introduce business principles into government affairs.

In 1783, he and Judge Richard Law codified the statutes of Connecticut, their work being adopted by the General Assembly the following year. The same year he urged the necessity of an impost-tax for the support of the general government.

At this time (1784) he was elected Mayor of New Haven. In the meantime, the Union had been going

from bad to worse. The confederacy which had been formed proved but the shadow of a national body; anarchy was beginning to stare each colony in the face. Every thinking man realized the necessity of a complete change in the political system. In this movement, for which the nation owes more to Alexander Hamilton than to any other man, Sherman was a faithful worker. He endeavored to have Connecticut represented in the Federal convention of 1786, but his commonwealth proved apathetic.

That year, Hamilton made his famous appeal, which sounded like a bugle call to every lover of liberty. The States awoke to the necessity of the hour and the Constitutional convention of 1787 was a triumphant success. With Sherman were William Samuel Johnson, and Oliver Ellsworth. It was one of the most memorable bodies that ever came together in the history of the New World. The great figures were Benjamin Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, and George Washington, the hero of a Continent; of the delegates a majority had been staunch and faithful members of the Continental Congress; whilst three had attended the Colonial or Stamp Act Congress of 1765,—Johnson, Rutledge and Dickinson. Here, too, was Hamilton, one of the youngest of the gathering, and yet already looked up to as one of the rising statesmen of the land. Party tendencies were in existence, but party lines had not been formed. The convention was really divided into three great schools or classes. One believed in a strong national government and was led by Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, James Madison and James Wilson.

The second favored a Confederacy, and was led by William Paterson, John Lansing and Luther Martin. The third was the compromise school, which leaned toward the Nationalists rather than the Con-

federates. This was led by Sherman, Franklin, Ellsworth and Dickinson. The convention lasted from May 30th to September 17th, and was the scene of as brilliant, erudite, and philosophic debate and discussion as the world has ever known. The year before the case of the Colonies appeared to be hopeless, but the crisis had brought forth the strength and the men. Out of the throes of necessity the Constitution had been born, and now that one hundred and fifteen years have passed away its wisdom and extraordinary efficiency have been demonstrated to the admiration of mankind.

His work finished in the Federal Convention, Sherman returned to Connecticut, where he was elected to the State Convention and there led the forces which ratified the Constitution. His work in reorganizing the nation was appreciated by the people of Connecticut, who elected him to the first House of Representatives under the new Constitution. In 1791, two years later, his State made him Senator, and while holding that office, he passed away.

But for his broad tolerance, Sherman would have been a typical Puritan; but for the wisdom gained from poverty, suffering and self sacrifice, he would have been harsh and severe in judgment; but for the long struggle through which he grew into a great manhood, he would have been bigoted and a doctrinaire. His was the very intensity of seriousness. He had no dislike for the trivialities or frivolities of life, but simply had no time for them. He had a magnetic power which made every one as serious and energetic as himself. Had he gone to a dance, he would have had every dancer sitting down with a school book in fifteen minutes. Had he joined a social club, he would have converted it into a philosophical society within a fortnight.

He suggests Cromwell without the latter's tremendous military genius, and Milton, divorced from the muse. Jefferson remarked of Sherman that "he never said a foolish thing." His imperturbability was that of an ideal self-control and not of that cheaper and commoner kind which means apathy or deficient vitality. He was an intellectual engine which moved along the lines of an absolute probity. A builder of the Republic was he in every respect, and a man who has stamped his individuality upon the national life. But his name will never quicken the beat of the heart nor excite the loving smile which greets a Hamilton, Schuyler, Lee, Franklin, Washington or Jefferson. Of the brightness and joy of life, he saw little or nothing. Twice married, he proved himself a good husband, and a strict but loving father. By his second wife, Elizabeth Hartwell, he had seven children, four sons and three daughters. Three of the boys were officers in the Revolutionary army, and proved brave and faithful soldiers.

No better summary of his career can be given than the inscription upon the tablet which marks his resting place.

"In Memory of
THE HON. ROGER SHERMAN, ESQ.

Mayor of the City of New Haven,
And Senator of the United States.

He was born at Newtown in Massachusetts,
April 19, 1721.

And died in New Haven, July 23d, A. D. 1793,
Aged LXXII.

Possessed of a strong, clear, penetrating mind, and
singular perseverance,

He became the self-taught scholar, eminent for jurisprudence and policy.

He was nineteen years an assistant, and twenty-three years a judge of the Superior Court,
in high reputation.

He was a delegate in the first Congress,
signed the glorious act of Independence,
And many years displayed superior talents and
ability in the national legislature.

He was a member of the general convention, approved the federal constitution, and served his country with fidelity and honor, in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate of the United States.

He was a man of approved integrity; a cool discerning Judge; a prudent sagacious politician; a true faithful and firm patriot.

He ever adorned the profession of Christianity which he made in youth;
And distinguished through life for public usefulness,
Died in the prospect of a blessed immortality."

PHILIP JOHN SCHUYLER

Born, November 22, 1733; Died, November 18, 1804.

The strain and pressure of great crises are so intense as to consume if not exhaust the vitality of the actors involved therein. Nearly all the great characters of history have been marked by stern and serious faces, as if to them life had had no bright and poetic side. At times, however, appears a man who plays his part in the drama of history as Mercutio in "Romeo and Juliet" bringing life and light with him whenever he comes upon the boards. The Mercutio of the Revolution was Philip John Schuyler, who belonged to one of the first Knickerbocker families of the State of New York.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, his ancestors, Philip Pietersen Van Schuyler crossed the ocean from Holland and settled at what is now Albany. Generation after generation passed in which the family burgeoned in importance, influence and strength. They supplied the Colonies with faithful soldiers, efficient officials, public-spirited citizens and philanthropic church-workers. In Philip, the virtues of the family were united in one personality. His education was the best which his environment permitted, he receiving his primary instruction at home from his mother, who was Cornelia Van Cortlandt, a woman of intellectual force, his secondary education at a celebrated Huguenot school of that period in New Rochelle, kept by the Rev. Dr. Steuppe (Stoupe). Here young Schuyler made phenomenal progress through very unpleasant causes. He was

attacked by the gout, which according to his own declaration, was an inheritance from his grandfather, and confined to his room for a year and more. During this period of enforced retirement his only solace was study. His books deadened the pain and helped bring about convalescence. In leisure hours he occupied an easy chair in the sitting-room, where he conversed in French with Mrs. Steuppe and the domestics. In this way he acquired a colloquial as well as a literary knowledge of French, which proved invaluable to him in after life. He had already learned Dutch, and in school took a thorough course in Latin, so that by the time he was nineteen, he was as accomplished a linguist as any of the bright young men of Albany.

He was popular in the society of his town, of which one portion was quite cultured and accomplished. This was the set to which belonged the Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, Livingstons, Ten Broecks and Schuylers. The difference between this group of families and their neighbors was in the education of the daughters. The majority of the well-to-do people brought up their girls according to the "three k's" of the German Emperor, "koeche, kirche, and kinder" (cooking, churching, and children). The families mentioned taught their daughters French, singing, dancing, and a fair knowledge of literature. Young Schuyler fell promptly in love with Catherine Van Renssealer, whose character may be inferred from the nickname "The Morning Star," by which she was everywhere known. The course of the true love ran smoothly as may be seen in the family Bible of the Schuylers, where in General Philip's own handwriting is this entry.

"In the year 1755, on the 17th of September, was I, Philip John Schuyler, married (in the 21st year, 9th month and 17th day of his age) to Catherine

Van Rensselaer, age 20 years, 9 months and 27 days. May we live in Peace and to the Glory of God."

This entry is eloquent to the student of Knickerbocker times. It is written in the best English of the time, which was a rare event in Albany, where the old families in their records used Dutch altogether or Dutch words and phrases. The young husband had already outgrown the provincialism which marked Albany life. The reference to the bride is in the modern style and not the ancient. He recognized her as his equal and helpmate and did not view her as housewifery as was too often the custom of the time. The little prayer at the end tells volumes of the sweetness and sincerity of the writer's character.

This year he raised a company of volunteers, and as a reward for his public service received a commission as Captain. When scarcely more than organized his company went to the front and served under its young leader in the campaigns of 1755 and 1756 in the French war. Here to the delight of his people young Schuyler displayed gallantry, strategic talent, military skill, and what doubtless endeared him more than the rest, an ease and gentleness which won every heart. In 1758, he became Deputy-Commissionary under General Bradstreet, with the rank of Major. In this branch of the service he displayed so much talent in his accounts that he was selected as his Commander's agent at the close of the war to go to England and settle up the books with the home government. This was done quickly and satisfactorily. He returned bearing with him a letter of appreciation from the British war office. Upon the conclusion of peace between England and France he retired from military life and took energetic hold of his own affairs.

From this point up to the Revolution, he was es-

entially a man of business, and displayed an energy and judgment of a high type. He erected improved saw-mills on his timber lands and established a transportation line between Albany and New York, and was thus enabled to sell timber direct from the forest to the builder in the Metropolis. Avoiding the profits which usually went to speculators, middlemen and ship captains, he was able to obtain an extraordinary return of profit upon his ventures. This he applied to the improvement of his estate, drainage of marshes, laying of roads, the building of piers and the establishment of farms for tenants.

Finding that a large tract of territory on his estate was suitable for flax-culture he went into this industry and erected a flax-mill, the first of its kind in the colonies. He secured hecklers, limers, spinners and weavers, some from the neighborhood and others from Holland, so that ere long he had his new industry upon a paying basis. He encouraged ship building and became a part owner in many crafts, thus helping ambitious young captains and at the same time reaping a fair reward for his enterprise.

He entertained with generosity but wisdom. Both he and his wife regarded themselves as trustees for their children, and after that for the poor and afflicted of their district. His views in these matters were expressed by himself twenty-one years afterward, when he transferred his estate at Saratoga to his oldest son, who had then come of age. In the deed he says: "I resign to your care and for your sole emolument a place on which for a Series of years I have bestowed much of my care and attention, and I confess I should part from it with many a severe pang did I not resign it to my child."

In the management of his estate his accounts showed that the profits or net income of his property were divided into four parts, one for entertainment

or "the social duties;" second, the improvement of the estate; third, charity and the church, and fourth, the increase of the estate. Under such a system as might be expected, his interests in northern New York grew from year to year as did those of his tenants and employees. His example was more or less contagious and incited his neighbors and friends to similar lines of conduct. During this period the Albany district was very prosperous, and both travel and traffic increased between that city and New York.

His reputation for general ability and rectitude had gone abroad so that when the Twenty-ninth General Assembly took up the question of the boundary line between New York and Massachusetts Bay, and later between New York and New Hampshire, it chose him as a Commissioner. The unpleasant duties involved were performed by him with such tact as to win approval from all three of the commonwealths involved. Shortly after this, he was made Colonel of Militia, and in 1768 was elected a member of the Thirtieth General Assembly. Up to this moment he had not taken an active part in the discussions then going on respecting colonial and coronal rights. Many patriots were a little afraid of this wealthy and talented aristocrat, fearing that his influence in the legislature would be cast against the people and for the Crown. Their fears were short-lived. Upon the very first question he took strong ground for popular rights and at the same time showed himself to be a good speaker, a shrewd parliamentarian and the possessor of great personal magnetism. It was upon his nomination, two years later, that Edmund Burke was made Colonial agent of New York at the British capital.

This and other actions of Schuyler and the Assembly were too much for the patience of the British

authorities. While the twenty-ninth Assembly had lasted seven years, the Thirtieth, which besides Schuyler contained Philip Livingston, George Clinton, and other patriots, was dissolved in less than three months after it had convened. The dissolution did not change public sentiment. At the following election Schuyler was re-elected, as were Philip Livingston, George Clinton, and with them Lewis Morris and Robert R. Livingston. The Governor's Secretary, on hearing of the personnel of the new Assembly, remarked "that the fish had leaped from the frying-pan into the fire."

Schuyler's house now became the headquarters of the patriot leaders in northern New York. He kept in touch with current events and received by mail papers from London, Boston, New York and Philadelphia, as well as correspondence from the friends he had been making since youth. Contemporaries speak of meeting there in the afternoon and evening and sitting around while the Colonel read to them the most interesting tidings he had received by the last mail. Before 1772 he was the acknowledged patriot leader of his district.

He was to have been a delegate to the First Continental Congress in 1774, but was prevented by illness. Of the Second he was chosen a member, and while there, was a member of the Committee with George Washington, which drew up the military code for the Colonial army. Upon the recommendation of the New York Provincial Congress, where in the speech nominating him he was declared to be one of the ablest and bravest soldiers in New York, he was appointed one of the four Major Generals that were made by the Continental Congress. On his return from Philadelphia, he perpetrated a joke which might have cost him dearly.

Clad in the handsome uniform of blue and buff, he

made an official call upon Governor William Tryon, who resided upon Broad street, New York, and sent in his card "Major General Philip Schuyler of the Continental Army." But for the presence in the city of a large military force which was there to receive him and Washington, it is probable that the Governor would have ordered his arrest. Under the circumstances discretion was the better part of valor. The Governor returned the card with the curt remark:

"General Schuyler? I know no such person," and declined preemptorily to see his caller.

Washington assigned him to the Department of Northern New York, where he took up the arduous task of collecting an army and making it ready for active duty. The work was herculean. Neither the Continental nor the Provincial Congress had much money nor credit. Though Schuyler, by indefatigable labor, raised all the men necessary under his instructions, the arms and ammunition came irregularly, so that fully a year passed by before his men were ready for active duty. Generous and patriotic, he drew upon his own resources, and at least one regiment was armed and uniformed at his own expense. Beyond this he sold the government, food supplies and other material, trusting to the eventual success of the American cause for his reimbursement. During this year he worked so hard as to break down completely. He was compelled to relinquish his command to General Montgomery and return home to regain his health.

His convalescence was quick, and he returned to Albany, where he took up the work of organization and supply with all his former energy. He was dissatisfied with the manner in which many of the officers performed their duty and spoke sharply whenever he regarded it as necessary. In this way, he

antagonized many, who made a cabal against him and had Congress take away or deprive him of his power by placing General John Thomas in command of the army and making Schuyler, Quarter-Master-General and Commissary-General. As a matter of rank and title, no change was involved, but he saw clearly what the order meant and was grieved at the ingratitude displayed by the national leaders. To make matters worse he soon found himself in opposition to the military plans of Congress.

They favored an invasion of Canada from New York State, and in default of this the maintenance of a large army far up on the frontier. Schuyler, who knew the country better than any man at the capital, and realized the pitiful poverty of the government, saw that this was impossible and expressed himself accordingly. Unfortunately for all parties the Congressional leaders were thick-headed and persisted in keeping Thomas on the Canadian lines. Ere long, events proved the correctness of Schuyler's position. A British Army under Burgoyne appeared in the North, and Thomas and his men were compelled to fall back precipitously. Thomas himself contracted the smallpox and died of that disease.

Through political influence, Congress now gave command of the northern army to Major-General Horatio Gates, without notifying Schuyler of the fact. Intentionally or not, this was a direct insult to the great New Yorker, who would have been justified in throwing up his Commission and retiring to private life. As it was, he stifled his indignation and agreed to co-operate with Gates until the issue had been passed upon by General Washington. The latter with consummate tact recommended the two men to act in harmony with each other, which they accordingly did. Gates, always a marplot, shortly after this began an intrigue for the removal of Schuy-

ler, at the time the later was busy in negotiating with Six Nations, who it was feared might take the field against the Colonies, and also in fitting out an armed flotilla upon Lake Champlain. Thus, while Schuyler was working day and night for the defense of his land, Gates was doing naught save conspire against Schuyler, whom he regarded as an obstacle to his ambitions. News of the plot was sent to Schuyler by his friends in Philadelphia, and he immediately offered his resignation, determining to test by this vital expedient how far the Government of the Colonies was actuated by principle or the whims of politicians. To the credit of Congress it declined to accept his resignation and declared that his services were indispensable. The President, John Hancock, went out of his way to make a personal request that the New York general would continue at the helm.

To increase his difficulties, his health which had been precarious now became so poor that for days at a time, he was scarcely able to do his work. The people of New York appreciated the pathos of his position, and in 1777 elected him a Member of the Continental Congress. The same year he was appointed Chief of the Military forces of Pennsylvania. Washington poured oil upon his wounds by giving him command of the Northern Department. Again Congress interfered, and through the machinations of the New England politicians, made Gates the Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army, Washington having declined to act in the matter. In October a Court-Martial was convened, before which the false and malicious charges of Gates were brought forward and thoroughly investigated. The court unanimously adjudged Schuyler had not been guilty of any neglect of duty and acquitted him with the highest honors. The verdict which should have been

taken up by Congress immediately was held back several months by Gates's political allies and then was made a finding of the Government.

The month of the trial New York elected him again to Congress, but he refused to take his seat until the judgment of the Court-Martial had been confirmed by the House. When this was done, he assumed his legislative duties and worked faithfully as a Congressman until 1781. Nevertheless he resigned his commission in the Army in 1779.

Besides attending to his duties at the Capital, he acted as Indian Commissioner for New York, and kept the Six Nations on friendly terms with the Continentals. In 1779, at the request of Washington, he was appointed a Commissioner to confer with the latter on the Southern Department of the Army, and from that time until the surrender of Cornwallis he was one of Washington's most trusted counselors. In these dark hours, when Congress appeared to be a mass of ingratitude, folly and intrigue, Schuyler must have been happy in the magnificent support accorded him by his own State. No sound came from Albany or New York but words of affection and praise. His people knew him and loved him. They were with him to the end. Honors they showered upon him thick and fast. He was their Indian Commissioner and their Congressman, and in addition they made him State Senator for the western district of New York, to which office they elected him four consecutive times.

It made no difference to his constituents whether he could attend or not. They elected him not to legislate, but to show their confidence and affection. In fact they contracted the Schuyler habit and kept sending him to the Senate for many years afterwards. He was there from 1786 until 1790, and again from 1792 until 1797, and probably had he

wanted it he could have been Senator for life with reversion to his oldest son. He and Rufus King were the first Senators chosen by New York under the present constitution. A second time he was made a national Senator in 1797.

Besides being a great soldier, he was a statesman of no mean rank. He was the first to perceive the benefit of a canal connecting the Hudson river with Lake Champlain, and in 1776 spent a week making a rough draft of the route and a table of estimated cost. The present canal was built upon almost the very lines which he figured out, and the actual cost, allowing for the difference in money values, was within twenty-five per cent of his original estimate. The man's foresight may be measured by the fact that in speaking of this canal he said that it would enable the lumbermen of the North to ship their timber to tide water and to receive from New York the necessities of life at one half of the expense which it then involved, and that in the event of war it could be used as a waterway for small ocean corvettes and sloops to go from Sandy Hook up to the Canadian border.

After the Revolution, he advocated a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie, with a branch connecting with Lake Ontario, and upon this matter talked with Christopher Colles, the mad inventor, with Governor George Clinton, and with President Washington. He was one of the group of philanthropists which founded Union College, and in 1784 was among the first contributors to its building fund. The project would have fallen through but for his energy and zeal. After the nucleus of an endowment had been secured the project languished some years. He then made personal appeals to his friends and thus obtained the necessary funds which enabled the institution to begin its life in 1795. With praiseworthy generosity

he attached no conditions to his gifts, nor did he attempt to give the new school any sectarian bias whatever.

In political life he was a Federalist sincere, though liberal. He was a member of the New York triumvirate, the other two members being Hamilton and Jay. Unlike his colleagues, his personality did not arouse the adverse criticism theirs received.

No man did more for the foundation of the American Republic than Philip Schuyler, and none was more ungenerously treated by his own age. Not until after his death did the American people come to appreciate the beauty and majesty of his character. Webster said that of all the Generals of the Revolution, Schuyler was second only to Washington.

Chancellor Kent, with the dignity befitting one of his own great judgments, wrote: "Among the patriots of the American Revolution who asserted the rights of their country in council, and equally vindicated its cause in the field, the name of Philip Schuyler stands preeminent. In acuteness of intellect, profound thought, indefatigable activity, exhaustless energy, pure patriotism and persevering and intrepid public efforts, he had no superior."

John Fiske the historian casts his vote as follows:

"The intrigues which soon after (1776-7) disgraced the Northern Army and imperilled the safety of the country, had already begun to bear bitter fruit. Since the beginning of the war, Major-General Philip Schuyler had been in command of the Northern department, with his headquarters at Albany, whence his ancestors had a century before hurled defiance at Frontenac. His family was one of the most distinguished in New York, and an inherited zeal for the public service thrilled in every drop of his blood. No more upright or disinterested man could be found

in America, and for bravery and generosity he was like the paladin of some mediaeval romance."

Oftentimes indirection paints a stronger picture than direct assertion and discription. To him who can read between the lines there is a world of admiration, confidence and friendship in a letter from George Washington to General Schuyler which has been preserved in the family archives.

"Mount Vernon, 21st Jan., 1784.

"Dear Sir:

"Your favor of the 20th of Dec. found me, as you conjectured by that fireside from which I had been too long absent for my own convenience; to which I returned with the greatest avidity, the moment my public avocations would permit; and from which I hope never again to be withdrawn.

"While I am here solacing myself in my retreat from the busy scenes of life, I am not only made extremely happy by the gratitude of my countrymen in general but particularly so by the repeated proofs of the kindness of those who have been intimately conversant with my public transactions. And I need scarcely add, that the favorable opinion of no one is more acceptable than that of yourself.

"In recollecting the vicissitudes of fortune we have experienced and the difficulties we have surmounted, I shall always call to mind the great assistance I have frequently received from you both in your public and private character. May the blessings of peace amply reward your exertions; may you and your family (to whom the compliments of Mrs. Washington and myself are affectionately presented) long continue to enjoy every species of happiness the world can afford.

"With sentiments of sincere esteem, attachment and affection, I am Dear Sir, your most obedient, very humble servant,

"G. Washington."

In private life General Schuyler preserved the traditions of his race to the very last. The honors which came to him never changed the courteous simplicity of his manners nor the gentleness with which he met alike the highest and the lowest of the land. The chivalrous lover, and popular beau, ripened into a wise father, a devoted husband and the sunny center of a great social circle. Even a large family, and he had fourteen children, never disturbed his equanimity, but on the contrary appeared to develop the paternal virtues and extend them into philanthropic habits of mind. His influence was always for good and his energies applied to the betterment of all things around him.

Time has dealt kindly with him. In his character were so many of the romantic and poetic qualities of human life that as the years have thrown oblivion upon the cares, trials and petty incidents of his career, these have grown brighter and assumed the shadowy outlines of a Bayard or a Black Prince. No revolutionary character was more idealistic than he. A brave soldier, he fought only for principles and not for fame, nor self aggrandizement. An able legislator and statesman, he was singularly free from personal ambition and seemingly incapable of political intrigue. A man of the highest birth and accomplishments he never lost his interest in the masses, who had not been similarly favored in this world's affairs.

Enjoying all those things which so seldom are allotted to one individual, he never forgot the relativity of life and the imminence of great spiritual powers. He perceived the ideals of life and in both thought, word and deed was himself an ideal, of whom the American people may be proud.

JAMES MADISON

Born, March 16, 1751; Died, June 28, 1836.

Out of the great middle class of Virginia came James Madison, scholar, statesman and fourth President of the United States. His people were planters, owning small estates, and raising enough tobacco to keep themselves in comfort, though not in wealth. His father, James, seems to have been a stronger and more thoughtful type of man than most of the people in the Rappahannock district. The planters as a class in those days led easy-going, happy lives, of which fox hunting, generous hospitality and social entertainment were the chief features. The soil was exceedingly fertile; slave labor made needless much exertion upon their part, and ambition scarcely troubled them unless it was in regard to the insignificant political honors of the town. Education was at a low ebb, and the number of reading men was small, and of scholarly men next to nothing.

When, therefore, the elder Madison determined that his seven children, of whom James was the oldest, should have the advantages of a better education than he himself had had, or than was possible to secure in that part of Virginia, it is clear that in this respect at least he was an exceptional character among the leisure-loving planters of his time. The plans were carried into execution, and the boy was entered at a school kept by a Scotchman named Donald Robertson, where he made steady progress. At that time he possessed a poor constitution, and had little or no likings for the amusements of healthy boy-

hood. He lived in his imagination, and found his chief pleasures in books and study. He was a courteous and affectionate boy, and won the heart of the old Scotch pedagogue, who took great delight in helping his favorite scholar in literary and mental paths, which other youths avoided.

Young Madison was not only at the head of his class, but was a class all to himself. When he got as far as the school would take him, he prepared for college under the Rev. Thomas Martin, the parish clergyman, who lived in the Madison household. From him he undoubtedly derived the desire to go to Princeton College, which at that time as now, was noted for its scholarship. This in itself was an unusual thing. Local feelings were very strong in those days. The average young Virginian went to William and Mary College as a matter of colonial pride and patriotism, a stronger factor than the love of scholarship. Another cause contributed to this feeling. William and Mary was more or less Anglican in its tendency, as was the commonwealth; while Princeton was essentially Presbyterian. It must therefore have been the subject of much discussion among the town gossips when young Madison, in 1769, at the age of eighteen, went north to New Jersey for his education.

His career at Princeton was more than creditable. He stood very high in every study, and in addition to the curriculum took courses in other topics, more especially the Hebrew language and literature. Judging from these courses, one biographer asserts that the ambitious student contemplated entering the legal profession; another declares that it was not law but theology toward which he aimed. It seems more probable that he was influenced by a nobler ambition, and that he desired to acquire all the culture which it was possible to obtain at Princeton.

Studies reflect disposition if not character, and the theological bent displayed by his work during the four years merely indicate a deep religiousness which marked the man through life.

Poor health followed him through his college career. At times, moods of depression seized him, in which he looked forward to an early death and tried to prepare himself for another life. It was in one of these moods just after graduation that he wrote: "I am too dull and infirm now to look out for extraordinary things in this world, for I think my sensations for many months have intimated to me not to expect a long or healthy life; though it may be better with me after sometime; but I hardly dare expect it, and therefore have little spirit or elasticity to set about anything that is difficult in acquiring and useless in possessing after one had exchanged time for eternity."

This morbidity was merely superficial and represented a body ill at ease. It did not disturb the great mind and soul which lay beneath. These were now vast engines, whose power and beauty were yet to be disclosed to the world. Yet now and then we obtain glimpses of the real man. Between 1772 and 1774 he displayed in conversation and correspondence the deepest interest in state, national and religious affairs. The statesman and the reformer within him had risen up in protest against the evils of the time. He already recognized the imperfections, follies and wrongs in the Colonial government, the tyranny and injustice of the English administration and the cruel intolerance and bigotry of the governing cult of Virginia.

Against these wrongs he raised the voice of protest, and in the seclusion of his study planned changes in the law of the Commonwealth in the relation between Colony and Crown, and in the status

of sect and church. The highest compliment that can be paid to him is that at the age of twenty-three he had realized the necessity of the complete separation of church from state, and of religious liberty for every citizen within the borders. Ecclesiastical forces were very strong in the middle of the eighteenth century; men were brought up to believe in the exclusive holiness of their own faith and the unpardonable sinfulness of all others. At this time there were men in jail in Virginia, upright, sincere Christians, for the heinous crime "of worshipping God contrary to civil law." Even when sick and weak, Madison never flinched from the performance of duty. Although entirely unfitted for a soldier's life, he had himself enrolled for the national defense, and at one time held a commission as sub-lieutenant. So far as is known his military career was formal and not actual.

Though he had taken little or no part in public affairs, his high learning and courtesy had so impressed themselves upon the community, that in 1774 he was made a member of the County Committee of Safety. Here he showed himself to be efficient, intelligent and patriotic. He worked even when suffering from illness, and often against the protests of sympathetic colleagues. The calm courage which is displayed when the mind controls the recalcitrant body may not be equal to that of the soldier in the brunt of battle, but is nevertheless an equally strong evidence of a great manhood.

He won the affection as well as the respect of his neighbors, who in 1776 elected him a delegate to the Virginia Convention. His constituents builded better than they knew. Neither they nor he were aware that public life was the arena for which Madison was better fitted than for any other. He took his seat in the Convention, and soon became a power

in that body. The committee to which was referred the matter of a bill of rights and of a State Constitution included him as an unknown member. In a short time he became one of its leaders. Before the Convention, he delivered a great speech on religious freedom, and urged the prohibition of any established church. He was a radical of radicals, and to his joy found himself supported by some of the ablest lawyers and thinkers of the State.

But he was in advance of his time, and the amendments that he favored were too sweeping to be accepted by the majority. Yet so strong was his argument, and so well martialled his forces, that the convention adopted a compromise in the matter, and passed the following clause upon the subject:

"That religion or the duty we owe to our Creator can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."

This is the form in which Madison drafted it, and thus it has remained to the present day. Other Commonwealths have adopted the same sentiments as their organic law, and a few have even borrowed his simple speech. It will go down to posterity as the first public achievement of the young statesman from the Rappahannock.

The public career so favorably opened lasted forty years, and is a noble chapter in the history of the American nation. From the start he showed a personality so vigorous as to demonstrate him to be a statesman and not a politician. Elected to the First Assembly under the Virginia Constitution, he was renominated for a second election. Here he was called upon to treat the voters to whiskey, according to an ancient custom which has not yet entirely died out even in 1902. To the surprise of the community,

Madison refused to employ any such methods. His enemies sneered, his friends entreated, his party leaders thundered. But it was to no avail. He would not make a barroom campaign, and he would not secure votes by appealing to the love of liquor or to the affection which unlimited inebriety produces. He was the first American candidate to make a campaign upon a clean, manly basis. Virginia, which had the same bibulous instincts as are now attributed to Bourbon county, Kentucky, looked on with horror. The election went off without a Madisonian voter being drunk. The opposition, according to the goodly gossip of the time, was "gloriously befuddled for a fortnight." Whiskey won and Madison lost, but the loss was confined to an assemblymanship for one year.

Beneath the loss he had won the greatest victory of his time. He had set Virginia thinking; he had gained the admiration of good and true people, irrespective of party, and he had won the undying gratitude of the women and children, who looked forward with fears and trembling to the hustings every year.

And the loss was no loss. When the assembly convened there was but one subject of discussion, Madison and the whiskey vote. Every member of the House knew too well the hideous tax the custom was upon the candidate. Everyone had wanted to bid defiance to the time-dishonored practice, but had not had the courage for fear of losing the election. Here was a thin, sallow mournful young college man, whom a breath could blow away, deliberately antagonizing constituents, public sentiment, distillers and tavern keepers alike. It seemed incredible, but yet it was a fact. When therefore an assemblyman whose drink-bills had been over \$1,000, rose and named Madison as a member of the Governor's Council, the nomination went through with a roar of

cheers. The young iconoclast had lost the assembly, but in losing it had leaped a great step upward and onward, and had become a figure in State politics.

His promotion did not change his methods. He was simply a glutton for hard work. People complained that he was gloomy and pessimistic; that he never laughed and never joked; but from Governor to page all agreed that he was the hardest worker and the best official Virginia had ever known. He seems to have been a cyclopedia for every one at the capital. Lawyers went to him for precedents; orators for references; scholars for quotations, and clergymen for authorities. Though the youngest man in the council, and probably in the State government, he was undoubtedly the wisest. Thomas Jefferson, noted for extraordinary versatility, memory, and general knowledge did not hesitate to refer to Madison upon all knotty points and vexed questions.

Talent of this sort impresses itself upon the popular mind as deeply if not so pleasurably as eloquence or martial daring. In 1780, Madison was sent as a delegate to the Continental Congress. Although the youngest man there, his fame had preceded him, and from the gray heads he received a warm welcome. Had he been marked by ordinary ambition he would have endeavored to bring himself prominently before the public by a startling measure, a brilliant speech or parliamentary strategy, but his ambition was of no ordinary kind. It was simply to do his duty and to serve the nation. His unwritten motto was "do that which comes to your hand, and do it the best you can." The skillful worker of Virginia became an even more skillful worker in Congress. By degrees the leaders in the House began to notice this thin and silent Virginian. Never had they seen a man like him. His speech was Addisonian in its purity

and elegance. His briefest note was a model of style and courtesy. He never drank and never posed. He did not yield to the social temptations of Congressional life, or on the other hand display any offensive zealotry or fanaticism. They found him at work in the library or at his desk in the early morning, and those who called upon him in his poor rooms late at night saw him studying and compiling. It was not long before his talents became known and utilized. A Massachusetts delegate would come to him for points as to the exports and imports of Boston; a New Yorker would apply for information respecting a Knickerbocker grant; a Pennsylvanian would consult him concerning French law. Madison himself never alluded to these things, treating them as matters of course; but those who enjoyed his kindness began by degrees to spread his fame abroad. All unconsciously, the young man was becoming a mental king in the halls of the nation.

He had a hard life during these dark years, but bore his lot with superb equanimity. Thanks to a good Jew, named Hayne Solomon, he did not become a beggar. Solomon was a broker who had an office near a poor little coffee house where Madison took his meals. The future President was so embarrassed financially that for days he could buy scarcely enough food to keep body and soul together. The broker was another patron of the place, and on one occasion found to his surprise that Madison was a better Hebrew scholar than himself. Before this time the acquaintanceship had been of that distant nature which is based upon accidental meeting. The discovery changed their relations. Together from that time on they would discuss the history laws, and religion of the Jews, the oppressions of the Chosen People in European lands, their treatment under the Inquisition, and the vast range of subjects which

are connected with the records of that deathless race. Ere long Solomon perceiving Madison's pecuniary distress, offered him money. The latter thanked him and declined to accept the loan. But the good Jew would not be put off. He insisted upon it, and Madison was obliged to yield. That day, tradition says, he had the first good meal which had passed his lips for several months. Solomon's delicacy was admirable. He knew that his learned friend was supposed to be paid by the State of Virginia and through some correspondent he kept a friendly eye upon the treasury of that Commonwealth. In this way he knew the condition of his friend's pocket as well as Madison himself, and during the long months, he kept Madison supplied with enough money for all his wants.

At one time Madison owed him \$600. When it came to repayment the former insisted upon paying interest on the loans, but the generous Israelite utterly refused to accept anything but the face of the debt declaring it not a matter of business but merely of friendship between two men. On one occasion Madison left a handsome sum as interest in an envelope upon his friend's desk, yet when he reached his rooms he was overtaken by a messenger from Solomon returning the envelope, and with it a bottle of wine.

Up to 1784 his work had been constructive and collective. He had been one of a large number who had worked together. It is true that he had been one of the most efficient and intelligent, but the difference between him and his colleagues had been inconsiderable. In this year, he was elected to Virginia legislature, and the question of religious liberty came up in the form of a measure to impose a tax for the support of teachers of the Christian religion. The measure had been drawn up by the clerical leaders of the

Commonwealth, and upon the face of the law seemed wise and beneficent. But Madison saw at a glance the danger which lurked beneath. He was almost the only member of the Assembly to oppose the bill, and the sponsors of the measure congratulated themselves upon the weakness of the opposition. He made so vigorous a fight that ere long the consideration of the measure was postponed to the next session of the legislature. This was all Madison desired. He wrote one of the great political essays of American literature "The Memorial and Remonstrance," and sent it all over Virginia for signatures. He spoke and wrote so well, and carried on so vigorous a campaign, that at the following election religious freedom became a test question. The bill came up before the next Assembly and was defeated forever. In its place, Madison's own measure was passed which read "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities."

In 1785 and 1786, he was one of the great leaders in the fight against paper money. The country seems to have gone crazy over fiat currency, and there was danger that the craze would sweep away all financial foundations.

In 1786, he drew the resolutions which brought about the Annapolis Convention. This body met, five States, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York being represented. So little was the interest of the country at large in the matter, that the Convention was scarcely noticed. Mary-

land, which had suggested the proposition in the beginning, neglected to send delegates, although the meeting place was appointed within her own borders. Yet this Convention was the embryo out of which sprang the Constitutional Convention of the following year. Among the great figures at Annapolis were James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. Here, Hamilton wrote his famous address which was adopted by the Convention, urging upon the people the necessity of a Union rather than a Confederacy.

During all these years Madison's voracious reading habits continued. The man seemed determined to know everything there was to be known. He was in touch with zoology, botany, mechanics, archeology, and geography. His mind had become a vast treasury of facts. It may be noticed however, that he was either deficient in the scientific tendencies or else that his mode of work had strengthened his memory at the expense of his other faculties. Thus he ridiculed geology, and tried to explain strata by the funny assumption "that rock grows in layers in every direction as the branches of trees grow in all directions?" As to fossils and paleolithic remains, he dismissed the matter by the hypothesis that the Creator "created the earth at once nearly in the state in which we see it, fit for the preservation of the beings he placed on it."

To the great Constitutional Convention of 1787, Virginia sent a noble delegation, which included George Washington and James Madison. The body promptly made the former its president, and opened the proceedings which were to make or unmake a continent. The credit of the Convention and the Constitution is due of course to the one hundred and sixty-nine men who made the organic law of the land. If among the individual members any two are to be singled out, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton

undoubtedly deserve signal credit. The Constitution was an untried experiment and encountered bitter opposition above all from true patriots who regarded it as the opening wedge of monarchy. In the Convention itself the measure was carried only by a vote of eighty-nine to seventy-nine.

The battle was but begun. The defeated minority returned to its respective States to carry on a bitter war against the adoption of the instrument. Virginia went Anti-Federalist, and under the leadership of Patrick Henry, named Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson, both Anti-Federalists, as nominees for the United States Senate. Henry singled Madison out as the one man who should not represent the Commonwealth. The strongest efforts were made to keep the great statesman from the House, the opposition even changing the districts to prevent his being chosen by the people. But the great common people rallied to him, and he was returned to the First Congress under the Constitution. While there, he offered twelve amendments to the Constitution, of which the first ten were duly adopted.

Now began the changing of old party lines and the forming of new ones. Heretofore the struggle had been between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, the former had won the day, and the Constitution which the latter had fought so fiercely had become the basis of the American nation. There was no *raison d'être*, for the party and its passed away to the limbo of Whig and Tory. Against the Federalist party now rose up the Republican. This believed with its rival in a strong government; unlike its rival it had a profound faith in the common people. Madison belonged to the latter class. He had been a Federalist because he recognized the necessity of a strong central government. He became a Republican because he believed in the American citizen.

In 1801, Jefferson appointed him Secretary of State, which marks the second chapter in the latter's career. To the student of history it was less successful than the first. As a legislator of both State and nation, Madison was one of the greatest intellects the country has seen, but when it came to the world of executive action, he did not rise equal to the occasion. It was a time for men of action and not of wisdom, for the soldier and the diplomat and not the reformer and scholar.

At the expiration of Jefferson's second term, Madison was elected President of the United States. His administration was weak and colorless. The war of 1811-1812 restored his popularity and re-elected him. In spite of the navy's noble record on the sea his second term cannot be praised nor admired. The entire management of affairs was feeble and spiritless. The nation at the time needed a man of militant if not military characteristics, while Madison was essentially a man of peace. At the close of his second term, in 1817, he retired to private life at Montpelier, Va., where he spent twenty quiet and delightful years. Fortune favored him in the lottery of marriage. His wife was Dorothy Payne Todd, a widow of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments. Her husband, John Todd, died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, and in September of the following year she married the Virginia statesman. Their married life lasted forty-two years, and was cloudless in its happiness. She was known in Washington society as "Dolly Madison," and was justly the most popular woman of her time.

James Madison will be remembered not as President nor as Secretary of State, but as a high-minded and statesmanlike legislator, a political reformer of the best type, and a father of the Federal Constitution. In each of these characters he is a command-

ing and even magnificent figure. In addition to the charms of intellect he was marked by a personal rectitude so rare as to be memorable. Among the builders of the Republic his name will go down with those of Jefferson, Hamilton, Franklin and Jay.

PATRICK HENRY

Born, May 29, 1736; Died, June 6, 1799.

Who in contemplating a chrysalis can descry beneath its uncouth exterior, the matchless beauty of the butterfly, or who seeing an idle poet, dreamer and musician, can conceive of his evolving into one of the great orators and statesmen of the world? The mysteries of physical life are insignificant beside those which belong to the development of the human soul. The dreamer who became a statesman, the idle fiddler who made himself the peer of Demosthenes, was Patrick Henry, a Virginian of Scotch and English ancestry.

His parents were fairly well to do. His home was marked by comfort, intelligence and affection. Early in boyhood he went to school, where he learned the three R's and displayed a rare talent for indolence and geniality. At the age of ten he entered the grammar school kept by his own father, and began the classical education of that time. Despite parental advice, entreaty and punishment, the youth was incorrigibly idle. He was an affectionate and lovable boy, who had no faults excepting that he would not study. In the morning, he was the soul of courtesy, and did everything a boy could do to make himself useful to father, mother, brothers and sisters, but when the school-hour arrived, he had invariably vanished. Sometimes it was shooting, sometimes fishing, and sometimes wild flowers, which engrossed his day. Mischief had no charm

for him, neither did he desire the companionship of playmates. According to his own family, he simply loved idleness for its own sake. Up to the attainment of manhood's estate he was an insignificant member of the community, if not a nonentity. His features, though good, were coarse and sunburned; his manners awkward; his conversation plain and uninteresting. To all who knew him, he seemed a creature whom nature intended for a solitary denizen of the wilderness, scarcely any higher than the wild animals among which he loved to live rather than a leader among men.

Parental love is very patient, but has its limits. When his son was fifteen, the father gave him up as hopeless, so far as mentality was concerned, and put him to work as an errand boy in a country store. Here he displayed a dull slowness worthy of the proverbial district telegraph messenger. Nevertheless, though apathetic and lazy to the last degree, he was honest, truthful and courteous.

His slowness must have been phenomenal, because it disgusted the easy going country store-keeper. There was no other store to go to, and so his father started him and his brother William in business on a very small scale. The young firm must have been a source of infinite merriment to the neighbors in Studley, Va. William was not quite so indolent as Patrick, but on the other hand he was wild and dissipated. The store experiment lasted one year. Its chief use to Henry was that it gave him leisure, which he devoted to his violin and to reading. The young man's moral sense prevented his leaving the counter to go fishing and shooting, and to kill time he began the use of books. This at the beginning was a lazy man's dernier resort. To his surprise he found that he enjoyed reading and ere long he had become more or less of a bookworm.

While head over heels in debt, and with no means of livelihood, he fell in love with Miss Sarah Shelton, the pretty daughter of a poor farmer in the neighborhood. With utter disregard of all prudence, the young woman, who appeared to be as improvident as himself, was married to him when he was eighteen. The families of the happy pair united in settling them on a small farm. Here the future orator digged and delved in ragged clothes, depending at times upon the kitchen of either mother or mother-in-law for his next meal. But it never disturbed the serenity of his soul or his wife's. When they had only corn meal and smoked bacon at their house, the wife would cook while Henry read poetry to her or played the violin. When the meal was insufficient, he would eke it out with a kiss and an embrace. His sunny nature made his poor hovel a little heaven for its inmates. Two years he devoted to husbandry, and its only reward were a very sunburned face and calloused hands as hard as the shovel-handle which they daily plied.

Again he tried shop-keeping, and again ruin was the result of his efforts. He had no brother as partner to worry him, and so had more time for himself. He now added the flute to the violin, and when he was too poor to afford a candle in the night time would play in the dark, making believe that he was serenading his wife. Another new joy was to lock up the store and take her out with him to the river and teach her how to fish. But through his playfulness and nonsense, a serious strain was making itself manifest. Knowledge began to appeal to him. Realizing his utter ignorance, he began to study the great master works of antiquity. Incidentally he became a graceful and accomplished dancer. Jefferson, who met him at this period, speaks of him

pleasantly, and sums him up by saying that "his passion was music, dancing and pleasantry."

Having failed in every calling he had tried, Henry now determined to take up one which is supposed to demand the hardest study of all. He announced his determination to study law. It made no difference to him that he was penniless, and that several years of hard reading ought to precede admission to the bar. To him life was a royal comedy, and the legal profession a delightful joke. He borrowed a copy of Coke upon Littleton, and a few volumes of statutes, which he read assiduously for six weeks. With smiling imperturbability, he presented himself for examination. But for his delightful personality, he would have been rejected forthwith. But even then he seems to have possessed a personal magnetism that won men's hearts. With two of the examiners he had no trouble. They signed his certificate, which under the court rule of that day admitted him to the bar, but this did not satisfy him. He wanted that of the gravest and severest of the examiners, a Mr. Randolph. The latter was a courtly advocate, whose manners, wig, costume, buckled shoes and silk stockings were models of the highest elegance. His feelings may be imagined, when Henry appeared before him. The would-be lawyer's hair was a mere shock; his hands and face were red like those of a farm laborer; his clothes seedy and even soiled, and his manners were to put it mildly breezy in the extreme.

The legal examination passed into a discussion, where, to the elder man's surprise, Henry proved himself a brilliant thinker and fascinating talker. So far as it is known this was the first exhibition of that intellectual and passionate eloquence which were to make their owner immortal. Randolph

signed the certificate, and from that time on was an admirer of the extraordinary young lawyer. He was thus launched at the bar, knowing probably less of law and practice than any office boy in Virginia. But something within the man had changed. His constitutional indolence had vanished. He studied, attended to what business he had, and in the evening aided his father-in-law in the conduct of the tavern, which the latter owned. In the tap room of the establishment he soon was conspicuous for two reasons, the one was his abstemiousness from drinking, and the other his fascination as a conversationalist.

In 1763, Henry, who was unknown outside of Hanover, where he was practicing law, was retained in what is known as, "The Parson Cause" or the "Tobacco Tithing Case." Far back in the seventeenth century a law had been passed imposing a tax upon the community whereby the taxpayers of each parish were obliged to supply the parish minister with an annual stipend of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. The law was passed at the time when tobacco was a currency and money was exceedingly scarce. With the progress of the colony, the tax had been scaled and converted into a pecuniary impost upon the basis of two pence a pound. When in 1755, there was a very bad harvest and tobacco advanced in price, the legislature passed a law whereby a planter had the legal option between delivering the leaf or paying cash at two pence a pound. In 1758 a similar law was passed, but this one did not receive the royal assent. The price of the tobacco soon rose thereafter more than three hundred per cent. The clergy, desirous of getting the full benefit of the rise in prices, brought suit, and Henry was retained in a small case upon the opposite side.

When he began the defense he was an obscure and even unknown solicitor; yet the astonishing brilliancy of his work, and the wonderful eloquence of his speech, not alone won what was considered a hopeless case, but also made him famous throughout the Commonwealth. In the morning he had been a poor man burdened with debt. When the case was closed he received enough retainers to pay off most of his debts and support him for a year. Before the month had gone by he had been engaged in all the tobacco-tax cases throughout Virginia.

His eloquence was and even is to-day a mystery. His education had amounted to almost nothing, and his little reading had been legal and historical. Prior to that time his voice had been poor, his gesture awkward, and his carriage ungraceful. No one had ever trained him in speaking, nor had he ever had an opportunity to study the art of the debater or the elocutionist. Yet in this old court house, without a warning, he had suddenly displayed the best qualities of a dozen schools of speaking, using humor, sentiment, pathos, satire, dramatic climax, logic, antithesis, simile, metaphor, apostrophe, involved and terrific parallels and diamond-cut epigrams. The lazy fiddler, the jocular good-fellow, the serene shopkeeper and the poor practitioner, had fallen away from the man, like so many invisible garments, and there had appeared the greatest orator Virginia had ever known. It was more than a seven days' wonder. It seemed almost a miracle. There was an element too in his speech which appealed to all hearts. The necessities of the suit brought out a defense of the people against the Throne, and an advocacy of popular against feudal, royal and special rights and privileges.

Virginia had at that time a caste system based

upon primogeniture and entail, which had already brought about social inequality and unpleasant distinctions. There was a landed aristocracy and an ecclesiastical aristocracy, both small and exclusive, and monopolizing largely the offices and honors of the colony. Below these were various classes who numerically were nine-tenths of the population. Probably Henry did not have these facts in his mind when he spoke, but they must have colored his thought and increased the earnestness and intensity with which he defended what he was pleased to term the "majesty of the people." His strong language touched the hearts of the hearers in more ways than one. Directly it referred merely to the case at issue; indirectly it applied to nine out of every ten men in that opulent colony.

Now that fortune had begun to favor him he avoided the goddess as before. His prosperity enabled him to buy better guns and fishing rods, to own a horse and to spend two or three days in the woods, where before he had spent an afternoon. In May, 1765, Henry was elected to the House of Burgesses. This body contained many men of the highest distinction, including John Robinson, Attorney-General Peyton Randolph, Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe and Richard Henry Lee. His entrance into political life was not cordially received by the aristocratic leaders of the time. His dress was plain almost to poverty; he despised the wigs, powder, patches and luxurious raiment so common in those days, and either from deliberate purpose or from old habit, employed both the slang and the vulgar pronunciation of his district. These incurred the ridicule and contempt of the aristocracy.

Yet they admired his superb brain power and eloquence. Admiration was succeeded by fear. They

realized that he represented the common people, who were a great majority, and that he possessed the ability to weld them into a compact body and wrest from the old time leaders the reins of government. On the other hand the people who had always admired him were beginning to love him. They realized in a vague way that his faults were their faults; his improvidence their improvidence; his shiftless habits their shiftless habits, and his folly their folly. They saw clearly that he owned what they did not, an intellect so powerful, and an eloquence so potent, as to make all other leaders seem small beside him in the arena.

Between these antagonistic forces a conflict was inevitable, and it came soon after his election and when he was just twenty-nine years of age. The Stamp Act had been passed and the English Colonies were excitedly discussing the measure. In Virginia the aristocratic leaders refused to commit themselves, many of them favoring it, but all of them preserving a discreet silence. Henry waited to see if some older member would introduce the matter, and finding that none had either the ability or courage to take up the task, became himself the leader of the people. He drew a set of five resolutions, in which he took strong ground for freedom, holding that the settlers of Virginia had brought to the New World the privileges, franchises and immunities they had enjoyed at home; that the Charters of King James had practically made invested rights; that only the people could tax themselves; that Parliament had no right to tax the people; that only the Assembly of the Colony had the right to tax, and that any attempt by the British Crown to usurp this right was a blow at freedom.

The resolutions fairly startled the staid House of

Burgesses. The old leaders could hardly trust their ears. They had believed up to that time that they held the initiative in the legislature, and that beyond this the body was loyal and obedient to the king. The resolutions themselves were revolutionary; they came from the youngest member of the House, with whom they were not on speaking terms, and more monstrous still, they emanated from a man who represented the mob. The reception accorded the reading showed them that there was danger in the air. With gallantry and trained skill they took up the gauntlet which Henry had thrown down, fought him in a debate whose dignity and force had never been surpassed in the history of the Commonwealth. Randolph, Bland, Pendleton, Wythe, and all the aristocrats opposed the resolutions to the best of their ability. But their argument proved unsuccessful against Henry's impetuous eloquence. When it came to a vote all five resolutions were carried, the last by a majority of one.

Henry's speech and the action of the legislature were soon known to every patriot in the Thirteen Colonies. The news strengthened the weak and timid and revived those of fainting hearts. It discouraged the Tories everywhere, and alarmed the aristocratic leaders, more especially of Virginia. Above all it made Patrick Henry the idol of the common people, who from that time on for thirty years viewed him as their own personal representative.

Law and politics saw Henry's sphere enlarge steadily. He became the great criminal lawyer of the State, and the popular leader of the House of Burgesses. The increasing tyranny of the British government was slowly antagonizing the old aristocratic leaders and driving them into the arms of Henry's party. New men were coming into power

and they belonged to the latter's school of thought. This is illustrated by an incident in the legislature of 1773, when Dabney Carr, a correspondent of Samuel Adams, moved the appointment of a committee of correspondence with the other Colonies for the protection and welfare of the people. It consisted of eleven persons, Randolph, Bland, Lee, Pendleton, Henry, Carr, Jefferson, Cary, Digges, Harrison, and Nicholas. The motion was carried, and as if to show how times had changed the two great voices raised in favor were those of Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee.

Events began to move swiftly. On May 24, 1774, the House of Burgesses passed an order setting aside the first day of June as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer on account of the hostile invasion of the City of Boston by an armed force. The next day Governor Dunmore dissolved the House, whereupon the members withdrew to the Raleigh Tavern, where they organized an association and passed resolutions denouncing the port bill and other acts of Parliament, declaring that an attack upon one Colony was an attack upon all, and recommending the calling of a "general Congress to meet annually and to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require."

Political machinery was set moving in all the counties which elected delegates to meet in Williamsburg the first of August and there appoint deputies to the General Congress. The Williamsburg meeting came off enthusiastically, and the delegates appointed as deputies to Congress, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton.

At the First Continental Congress Henry pronounced one of the great orations of the world. It was in this body that his limitations became painfully manifest. He was by all odds the great speaker of that assemblage, but he was one of its poorest writers and most inefficient committeemen.

Congress adjourned in October, and Henry returned to Virginia. The following March the convention of delegates from the Virginia counties and corporations met for the second time. Everybody was conscious of the struggle going on, and all had come prepared to play his part in the political drama now unfolding. The proceedings began very mildly as had been desired, and perhaps planned by the Royalists and the peace-at-any-price advocates. Things seemed to be going in a *laissez-faire* way when Henry rose and moved the famous resolutions, recommending militia to take the place of the British standing army and garrisons for the securing of American rights and liberties, and urging that the Colony be put into a state of defense and a committee appointed to carry this into action. The proposition was almost tantamount to a declaration of war. It was the boldest act which had yet been taken on the American Continent. It was a bugle blast to the bold and a menace to the Crown. It aroused the antagonism of the Tories, and through what they regarded as impolicy the opposition of such patriots as Bland, Harrison and Pendleton. There was a fierce debate in which every argument was employed against the resolutions, and when the opponents of the measure had finished it looked as if Virginia would continue to bear the ills she had, rather than fly to others that she knew not of. All eyes were now turned to Henry, who rose, calm, collected, but so intensely earnest that the suspense manifested by all present became painful. As he

drew himself back to begin speaking, the voices of children playing in the street could be heard, and the notes of birds in the eaves of the building. Then from his lips came one of the greatest speeches he had ever delivered, and one of the most masterly the world has ever heard. At last he reached the peroration.

"It is vain, Sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God—I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death."

As he closed there was a sigh, a gasp, but no applause. The speech was the mausoleum of the opposition. The resolutions were adopted, and the Committee of twelve appointed, the Chairman being Patrick Henry, and his lieutenants, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton. The plan for arming the colony was drawn and adopted.

Governor Dunmore of Virginia now followed the example of Governor Gage of Massachusetts, seizing twenty barrels of gunpowder in the city of Williamsburg, which he placed on board of an armed schooner. Everybody was at sea and knew not what to do, everybody excepting Patrick Henry. At his own expense, he sent men on horseback to the members of the Hanover Independent Company, asking them to meet him in arms at Newcastle on May 2nd, on business of the highest importance to American lib-

erty. He also invited the County Committee and every patriot he knew within twenty-five miles. They met him and he spoke as only Henry could speak. The meeting went wild. Captain Meredith of the Company resigned his commission in Henry's favor, who was immediately and unanimously elected commander of the Volunteers. Captain Henry, for such he was now, immediately marched upon Williamsburg. As he and his soldiers advanced armed men from every quarter on foot and on horseback joined the ranks. Ere the destination was reached at least five thousand riflemen were together. Many patriots frightened at Henry's boldness begged him to desist, but in vain. The Governor fumed and fulminated, but at the last hour his courage weakened and he caused a messenger to meet Captain Henry with a bill of exchange for the amount of the powder at Henry's own valuation. Henry accepted the bill and gave the following extraordinary receipt:

"Received from the Hon. Richard Corbin, Esq., his Majesty's Receiver General 3301 as a compensation for his gunpowder lately taken out of the public magazine by the governor's order; which money I promise to convey to the Virginia delegates at the General Congress to be under their direction, laid out in gunpowder for the Colony's use, and to be stored as they shall direct, until the next Colony convention, or General Assembly, unless it shall be necessary, in the meantime to use the same in defense of the Colony. It is agreed that in case the next convention shall determine that any part of the said money ought to be returned to His Majesty's said Receiver General that the same shall be done accordingly."

In July, 1775, the Colonial convention met at Richmond and began the organization of its army. To

Henry, they paid the graceful compliment of electing him Colonel of the First regiment and Commander of all the forces raised and to be raised for the Colony.

In 1776, Virginia elected Henry its first Governor. There was but one ballot, he receiving sixty out of one hundred and six votes. In 1778, he was re-elected unanimously. In 1779 he was again elected, and although he might have held the office on excellent technical grounds, he refused to serve, as in his belief the Constitution made him ineligible for another term.

1780 saw him back in the Assembly hard at work for the cause of the Colonies. After the Revolution he again became Governor of his State for two terms, and was elected for a third, but declined to serve.

In 1794, he was made United States Senator, where he served with his usual distinction. Honors were offered to him lavishly, but were not accepted on account of the conscientious scruples in regard to all political measures. Washington proffered to him the Secretaryship of State, and afterwards the Chief Justiceship, and Adams nominated him as Special Minister to France.

In middle life, after the death of his first wife, he married Dorothea Spotswood Landridge. By the former there were six and by the latter nine children.

Patrick Henry's place in American history is that of a personality of transcendent influence. Of the individuals who brought about the war of the Revolution, he and Samuel Adams may be regarded as the leaders. In fiery patriotism, and absolute disregard for consequences, he was a Prince Rupert among the Builders of the Republic. No statesman, politician nor executive was he, but a poet, a hero,

and an orator. The United States, through its system of representative government, has developed oratory to a greater degree than any country of the world, and has produced probably more men of eloquence than any other nation. In the long roll of eminent American speakers, two tower over all the rest, Patrick Henry in the eighteenth and Daniel Webster in the nineteenth century. So long as eloquence moves the human heart, and patriotism appeals to the nobler qualities of the human character, just that long will Patrick Henry wear the laurels of immortality.

HENRY KNOX

Born, July 25, 1750; Died, October 25, 1806.

Personality and fame are related in a manner inexplicable to the student. Of two men, who play unusual parts in a great political crisis the smaller and less worthy is often put upon a far higher pedestal than the other. Yet the injustice is not permanent. Time, which tries all things, imperceptibly gives the larger place to the larger man. This has been the lot of General Henry Knox, Chief of the Artillery in the Revolution, First Secretary of War under the Confederation and the Federal Constitution, and all his life a patriot of the highest distinction. Seemingly forgotten by the first half of the nineteenth century, or moved aside to make way for less significant men, he is again resuming the high place which he occupied in the dark days when the Republic was being born.

He came of a race which has long been Scotland's glory. A branch of it migrated in the eighteenth century to the north of Ireland, which during the days of the great eviction sent many of its most stalwart sons across the ocean to the New World, where they hoped to found a new Scotland free from the evils and abuses of the old.

Among these immigrants was William Knox, a ship builder, who settled in Boston, and established there a good business. Of ten sons, Henry, the seventh, was to make the family name as loved and respected in the Colonies as John the great theologian had done in Scotland. No better type of an

American school boy can be found in our annals than this young Bostonian. In sport and study, in affection and courtesy, in intelligence and ambition, he displayed all the promise of a noble and well rounded manhood. At the age of thirteen, when he was in the graduating class of the Boston grammar school, his father died, leaving practically no estate for the widow and children. Henry promptly left school and looked for employment. His quest was rewarded in a few days by his becoming an errand boy and clerk in the book store of Wharton & Bowes, Cornhill, Boston. Fortunately for the youth his employers, though strict men of business, believed in the excellent theory more prevalent then than now that an employer had a duty in regard to the physical, mental and moral welfare of a clerk. When labor was slack and the store quiet, they encouraged the clerk to read and study, pointing out the lines most advantageous for a boy's career. They permitted the carrying of books to the boy's home, and acquiesced in all matters where they had authority, when they believed it to be for his well-being. These seven years were a liberal education to the apprentice. As time passed on he became acquainted with the patrons of the book store, among whom were the cultured members of the community.

Although a hard student, he never lost his interest in open air sports and was a leader in the games and amusements of the Boston apprentices of the time. Sunny and genial, he was at the same time combative and even pugilistic. For at least three years he was the champion of his neighborhood, and was called upon frequently to uphold with his fists the glory and honor of his crowd. In these encounters he usually came out first, and by degrees acquired a reputation as a skillful fighter in mimic war, and a delightful companion in peace. When twenty years of age,

he took part in the bloody affray known as the Boston massacre. Here he endeavored to stop the rioting, and risked his life in his attempt to prevent an armed conflict, and when this had taken place to bring it to an end as speedily as possible.

The following year (1771) he opened a little shop of his own which he called the "London Book Store." Many of his invoices have been preserved and throw an interesting light upon the literary tastes of that period as well as upon the good judgment of the young bookseller. Upon his shelves were works on law, medicine, theology, politics, history, and philosophy. There were volumes of sermons by famous divines, and a large assortment of fiction. The novelists then in vogue were Smollett, Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Swift, Goldsmith, and De Foe. Voltaire, Cervantes, Baxter, Rochester, and Paley had each his own set of readers. Many entries of school and college books evidence that young Knox had secured contracts with the educational establishments in Massachusetts. The little stationery department grew along lines that seem somewhat odd to a modern reader. Besides paper, ink, quills, sand-boxes, shot-cups, sealing wax and the other paraphernalia of the old-time desk, were to be found bread-baskets, paper-baskets, German flutes, English fifes, telescopes, protractors, dividers, ruling pens, paper hangings, moguls, and standishes.

The business methods of his time were improved by the young merchant who established an exchange system with booksellers in other cities, and who also anticipated in a vague way the present installment plan of selling books by disposing of his goods on long terms of credit.

Under these auspices, his shop became popular and was frequented by the "quality" of Boston. Harrison Grey Otis said, "it was a store of great display

and attraction for young and old and a fashionable morning lounge."

Knox appealed to youth as well as to cultured age. He was exceedingly comely, and possessed a lightness and grace more like that of a Frenchman than a staid New Englander. The fashionable young maidens of the city took to him, and by their presence made his store all the more attractive to the young men of the place. Among these fair patrons was Miss Lucy Flucker, a Tory bell, who won his heart and lost her own. The acquaintanceship formed over the books and the counter deepened into love and ripened into marriage. The attachment was a strong one, because the union occurred against the fierce protests of the girl's kindred, all of whom were staunch loyalists. Business duties did not prevent the young man from looking after his physical welfare. He rowed, shot, and walked whenever he had the opportunity, and seems to have been a skillful angler and hunter.

When the Anti-Consumption League was established in New England as a retaliatory measure against the Boston Port Bill, Knox became an earnest member, although he realized that it meant the ruin of his business, if not his bankruptcy. Books and stationery were luxuries, rather than necessities in those days, and were almost exclusively of foreign make. They came to Boston in English ships from English merchants in London, and they were the first to be affected by the action of the Anti-Consumers. During these stirring times the young man cast discretion to the winds, and was an open and ardent advocate of Colonial rights. The moment the nucleus of the Colonial army began to form, he left his store to the care of his brother William and went to the front, where he had a hearty welcome from all who knew him.

As early as 1768, he had joined an artillery company, known as "The Train." There were unique social distinctions in these years which went down even into the military and militia services. Conservative young men and those of middle age, belonged to "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company;" the young bloods of the city to the "Governor's Guards." Those who wanted to master the science of war joined "The Train," whose commander was a notoriously strict drill-master. During the four years that Knox served in this organization, he learned nearly all that was taught at that time. Gunnery, field work, and entrenching were the regular curriculum. In addition to this was the making of fascines, chevaux de frise, and other martial defenses. The artilleryman was instructed in the use of the sword, musket, and bayonet so that his education was much more extensive and thorough than that of the infantry soldier or cavalryman.

In 1772, a number of ambitious members of "The Train" formed a new organization styled "The Boston Grenadier Corps." It was commanded by Captain Joseph Pierce, and Knox, now twenty-two years of age, was lieutenant. The new company was really the pick of the old. The members were not only more ambitious but better off. They signaled their advent by an unusually handsome uniform and from the first were pronounced the best drilled company in the New England militia. Either deliberately or accidentally there were no small men in the ranks, the shortest being five feet ten and the tallest six feet two inches. The average member was two inches taller than that of the other militia companies and six inches taller than the British regular. So fine and martial an appearance did the Grenadiers make that they won the cordial praise of the British officers stationed in Boston.

Even before he left the city to join the Colonial army, Knox had become recognized as a "rebel." It was under these auspices that his love affair culminated in marriage. The congratulations showered upon bride and groom were somewhat dampened by political conditions. The girl's family feared that her husband would meet with a traitor's death, and she herself must have been grieved by the fact that while her husband was a rebel her only brother, a lieutenant in the British Army might be called upon to oppose him in the arena of war. The Fluckers admired the young man in spite of his rebellious proclivities. They thought that his attitude was inspired by military ambition rather than by any political chimera, as they regarded the Colonial demands, and secured for him the offer of a commission as lieutenant and thereafter as captain in the British Army. Knox thanked them and refused to accept anything from the Crown. His attitude was the same as that of a score of other great patriots in Boston at the time, and was unlike those of the many time servers, who shouted liberty one day and took office with a fat salary the next.

In addition to his business duties, military work and patriotic activity, Knox found time to aid the Colonial cause in other ways. Governor Gage had started a system of espionage and surveillance upon all suspected rebels, in which category was the young bookseller. He was so open in his demeanor that he received the high compliment of being one of the first patriots who was forbidden to leave Boston. With certain grim humor, he determined to give a Roland for an Oliver, and with a group of patriots established a counter espionage upon the officials and their spies. With him in this work was his friend Paul Revere the engraver.

At the time Revere was not suspected, and on ac-

count of his business relations with Knox could come and go from the latter's store without arousing suspicion. He took the precaution however, always to bring a plate when he visited the bookseller, and if there were any spies or British officers about, to have a make-believe quarrel in regard to imaginary work. Time and again when they had the wrong kind of an audience, he would denounce Knox at the top of his lungs, and Knox would give as good as he received, until they were alone. They carried out this comedy so successfully that on several occasions Revere was asked by British spies for information respecting the rebel bookseller.

Thus far only men of importance from an official point of view had been forbidden to leave Boston. Knox foreseeing the coming storm had encouraged the departure of all patriots, especially those who could bear arms. Judging from the old roster roll, he must have been a prime factor in the causes which led to nine-tenths of the Grenadier Corps leaving the city and joining the Colonial forces outside. Several months elapsed before the defection aroused any alarm in Governor Gage and his cabinet. One day a Tory leader realized that nearly all the Colonial sympathizers had left the city, and that the population was now practically nothing but loyalists and loyal troops. Gage thereupon issued an order in council prohibiting all migration. Those who had gone had carried with them fire arms and munitions of war. The amount they carried was of course small, but rumor magnified it from day to day until the Tories became panic stricken at the idea of huge magazines intended for their destruction being established at points comparatively near to the city. It was this fear which induced Gage to send Percy's expedition out in March, 1775, to find where the magazines were located and how large were the forces of the rebels

around Jamaica Plains, and a larger expedition to Concord the following month. The departure of both detachments was reported in time to the Colonials, through the well organized system of which Paul Revere was the head, and Knox and other active workers. The second expedition began the revolution.

The day after the battle of Concord, Knox and his wife left Boston for the patriot army. The sword which he had worn in the Grenadier Corps was sewed up in the quilted lining of his wife's cloak. No soldier ever had a more martial bride. In spite of her family and the loss of everything dear to woman's heart, she was as resolute and fearless as her husband.

Knox's experience and skill now brought him into rapid prominence. Although he refused a commission from General Artemus Ward when he joined the Patriot Army, he nevertheless rose from the ranks into command as the days passed by. When the besieging works around Boston were started his was the master mind that designed them and carried them into execution.

In June, the Continental Congress made Washington the Commander in chief of the Army, and Ward, Lee, Schuyler and Putnam, Major-generals. Knox, who seems to have had no ambition but to fight, made no effort for a commission, or for promotion. He was therefore surprised and delighted when in July, Washington inspected the fortifications and praised him more highly than had ever been done before. The great commander recognized the sterling manhood in the young engineer and formed for him at that time a friendship and affection which was to last as long as life. In a short time, social relations had opened between them and we find both Knox and his wife dining with Washington. Knox kept busy

at his work, of which the credit was taken apparently by the officers above him.

Merit will not stay down. In November, Washington wrote to Congress the following pithy note:

"The council of officers are unanimously of opinion that the command of the Artillery should no longer continue in Colonel Gridley; and knowing no person better qualified to supply his place, or whose appointment will give more general satisfaction, I have taken the liberty of recommending Henry Knox to the consideration of Congress."

To increase the young artilleryman's pleasure several of his superior officers united in a request that he receive command of the Artillery Service, and that they be put under him. The same month, Congress acted upon Washington's request and made Knox a Colonel, which was followed by his appointment as Chief of the Artillery of the Continental Army. It was a bold move on the part of George Washington, but after events showed its wisdom. To take a man from the ranks, a mere bookseller, and put him at the head of one of the most important branches of the army, displacing men who had been professional soldiers, demanded as much courage as it did wisdom. Fortunately for the Colonies Washington possessed both. A bookseller in those years was a mere tradesman, and a tradesman was not and could not be a gentleman. The fact therefore that Knox won the confidence and love not only of Washington, but also of John Adams and other leaders at this time, speaks volumes for the force and beauty of his character.

This was the year that Knox performed the wonderful feat of going from Boston to Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain where were stored the mortars, cannon, and howitzers which had been captured by Ethan Allen, and bringing them across the ice and

snow from that place to Boston. The task seemed impossible. Of the generals only Washington believed that Knox could and would do it. When therefore the intrepid colonel came back to the Heights and brought with him the noble train of artillery which he had promised, he was the hero of the hour. Adulation did not induce him to rest on his laurels. Scarcely more than arrived, he began mounting the artillery at the points where they could inflict a maximum of damage upon the British forces.

This re-enforcement enabled the American army to occupy and arm Dorchester Heights, which commanded the harbor. The work was done under plans drawn by Washington, Knox, Thomas and Ward. The British position was now untenable, and Lord Howe with his army sailed away to Halifax. Washington entered the city at the head of his troops, and with him rode his ablest lieutenant, the heroic commander of the artillery.

There was no rest for patriots in those days, and after the capture of Boston, Knox went to Connecticut and Rhode Island to design fortifications for the strategic points along the coast of these two Colonies. In June, 1776, he was with Washington in New York. Here he became acquainted with a handsome young captain of a local artillery company who was so bright, energetic and skillful as to arouse his admiration. He inquired the young man's name. It was Alexander Hamilton.

Here the Continentals awaited the approach of the British expedition that was to descend upon New York, Knox having his headquarters at No. 1 Broadway, where among his aides was his fair wife.

The Colonials had very little money, and in spite of the high position of her husband she was compelled to live as economically as possible. She accordingly dispensed with the rich raiment to which she

had been accustomed from her infancy and wore a suit that was Puritanic in its simplicity and cheapness and military in its cut and finish. The defeat at the Battle of Long Island discouraged many of the American officers and generals, but not the men of larger mind like Washington and Knox. Immediately after that memorable conflict he wrote to his wife who was in Connecticut:

"We want great men who, when fortune frowns, will not be discouraged. God will I trust in time give us these men. * * * It is, as I always said, misfortunes that must raise us to the character of a great people. One or two drubbings will be of service to us and one severe defeat to the enemy, ruin."

He was voicing what fate had in store. The Continentals were to have not one or two, but very many drubbings, and then was to come the severe defeat of Yorktown and the ruin of British hopes and power in the New World. Through the dark years of the war Knox fought by Washington's side. In December, 1776, he led the American troops in the memorable victory of Trenton, N. J., and the next day by an odd coincidence, although no news of his heroic prowess had reached Congress, that body made him a Brigadier General.

At the Battle of Princeton, he was foremost on the American side. When the army went into winter headquarters, Washington sent Knox to New England to supervise the casting of cannon and the establishment of powder factories. Upon his recommendation works were begun at Springfield, Mass., which developed into the famous arsenal in that city. To him, more than any other man, was due the founding of other military works, and more important still the establishment of the military academy at West Point. If that famous institution ever changes its name, it should be called the Knox Military Col-

lege by a grateful Republic. As early as September, 1776, he wrote to Congress a letter in which occur the memorable lines "And as officers can never act with confidence until they are masters of their profession, an academy establishment on a liberal plan would be of the utmost service to America, where the whole theory and practice of fortifications and gunnery should be taught."

In the winter of 1778-1779, Knox started a military instruction camp at Pluckemim, N. J. Here he had weapons of all sorts and a curriculum of officers, he being the chief if not the only professor. The innovation proved popular, every student commending it highly. This was the embryo of the military academy at West Point.

In the councils of war between Washington, Rochambeau and La Fayette, Knox was a constant figure. He had mastered French while serving his apprenticeship in the Boston bookshop, and was one of the few officers who spoke it fluently. His geniality and tact made him persona grata with the French soldiers, who were always eager to have him act as interpreter in official dealings. In the writings of the French who took part in the war are to be found frequent and always adulatory references to General Knox.

During the campaign which culminated in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Knox seems to have been in evidence at every point. Both the American and French commanders speak in glowing terms of the manner in which he handled the American artillery. When the plans of cooperation were drawn on the flagship, the "Ville de Paris" of De Grasse's fleet, the leading persons were Admiral Rochambeau, Duportail and Chastellux on the French side, and Washington and Knox on the American.

During this period Mrs. Knox was the guest of Mrs. Washington at Mount Vernon.

Congress, divided by intrigue and cross purposes, at last recognized Knox's heroic service, and made him a Major-General. Perhaps his highest compliment was a letter from Washington in 1782, in which the latter wrote "I have so thorough a confidence in you, and so well acquainted with your abilities and activity, that I think it needless to point out to you the great outlines of your duty."

Knox had just been appointed to command West Point in that district, then the most important strategic site in the arena of war. No higher praise than this could have been given. In April, 1783, Knox organized the Society of the Cincinnati, which was intended to perpetuate the friendships of the officers of the army, and to provide for their widows and children. The organization aroused the bitterest antagonism, even Adams and Franklin opposing it, upon the ground that it tended to injure the cause of liberty. At the close of the war Washington assigned to Knox the disbanding of the American army, and the occupation of New York, upon the evacuation of the British. On November 25, 1783, the army of the British king took its departure, and the American troops, with Knox on horseback, at the head, entered the freed metropolis. On December 4th, Washington took leave of his generals at Fraunces, Tavern. After he had drunk their health in a glass of wine, and bade them all good-by, he turned to Knox, grasped his hand, and kissed him farewell.

The noble virtues displayed by Knox during the long years of the war made him equally prominent in the peaceful but troublous times that followed. Upon the new problems which presented themselves to the infant republic, Knox took high statesmanlike

grounds. He favored the formation of a small regular army so as to be prepared for Indian uprisings or conflicts with foreign powers. He saw the future greatness of the west, and recommended the settling of officers and soldiers in a new state or states west of the Alleghanies. The work of disbanding kept on and in 1784, of the Colonial forces there were left less than seven hundred men.

His work ended, he retired to private life and returned to Boston, where he received an ovation from the people. In the summer he was made an Indian Commissioner by the legislature, and also a Commissioner in regard to the boundary between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, Maine at that time being a part of the Bay State.

In 1785, Congress elected him Secretary of War, with the notable salary of \$2,450 per annum, out of which he was to pay a clerk. During this period Knox was a persistent advocate for a change in the form of government, urging stronger authority and a more efficient Constitution. Before the adoption of the present system he sent to Washington a sketch of a bicameral National government, singularly similar to the one which was afterwards framed by the Constitutional Convention. When this body was proposed Washington was uncertain whether to attend it or not. The man of infinite patience seems to have lost confidence in Congress and in representative government. He felt like folding his hands and letting affairs take their own course. He wrote for advice to Knox, who answered with a letter full of courage, enthusiasm, confidence and love for his old commander.

The Constitution was adopted by the convention, and then by the States. George Washington was elected President, and as might have been expected made General Knox the first Secretary of War. His

office was a larger one than it is at present. He was also Secretary of the Navy, Indian Commissioner and Pension Commissioner.

It was a very small country then. Knox kept the accounts of the Navy Department, which are still preserved. In 1793, the expense was \$7,550, where to-day it is sixty millions. In these years Knox appears to have been inspired with almost prophetic vision. He recommended the establishment of Indian reservations and a policy of absolute justice toward the redmen. He was resolute in favoring a large and powerful navy and the construction of forts at every important port on the Atlantic coast. Strangely enough in these measures he, though a Federalist, received his chief support from Thomas Jefferson, while from Hamilton and the other leaders of his party he had either the mildest acquiescence or downright opposition.

In 1794, he resigned his office and retired to private life. Settling at Thomaston, Me., he built a fine mansion which he named Montpelier. It cost \$15,000, a sum which at that time seemed incredibly extravagant. During the remaining years of his life, he was active in developing that part of Maine which he had made his home, and with rare insight started many of the industries which have since become the mainspring of that commonwealth's prosperity.

General Knox was essentially a great soldier. Of the many brilliant warriors of the Revolution he stands on a par with Washington and Schuyler. His martial talent was singularly versatile, probably more so than that of any other general. He was an engineer, an artilleryman, a commander, and a strategist. He was an expert in every branch of the service and invaluable to Washington and Rochambeau. Few beside himself among the military characters of the period appreciated the value of a naval

armament or knew how to take advantage of this weapon of defense. In this respect Knox seems to have been abler than any of his colleagues. He was a statesman so far as the conception of great thoughts and plans for the public welfare were concerned. He was not a statesman so far as the carrying of these plans into practice was involved. He brought forth the conception and allowed others to utilize it for their own aggrandizement or for the people's well being. A fearless and uncompromising patriot, a gentle and loving husband and father, a staunch and resolute friend, a good and upright man, he realized to a large extent the ideal of an American soldier.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Born, February 12, 1809; Died, April 15, 1865.

In the mighty fabric of the Republic, which was raised in the eighteenth century, two vital mistakes were made by the builders. Although they intended to make a great nation, they omitted some of the ties which are necessary to hold a state together and although they called their work a Commonwealth based on liberty, they allowed negro slavery to remain as it was before they began their task. In all constructions by man the lines of strain and stress direct their force at the weakest point. Here is the deadly line of least resistance, and around it is born eventual ruin. The growing forces of the years tested each joint and stone of the Republic, and by degrees produced long and threatening fissures in the arches of Union and freedom. The fissures widened into gaping spaces, and the world looked on in wonder at the threatened dissolution of the Republic. Those who loved liberty and humanity despaired, while those who believed in privilege and caste threw their hats high in air. It looked indeed as if a government by and of the common people, the only one ever seen upon the earth, was about to pass away, and that in its stead were to spring up a series of disorganized and mutually antagonistic political communities. Yet with infinite appropriateness, out of the common people came a man, a greater builder than any who had preceded him, and with infinite patience, dauntless courage and majestic intellect, remedied the mistakes of his predecessors, stopped

the process of ruin, and made the national edifice more beautiful and imposing than it has ever been before. He, the Master Builder, was Abraham Lincoln.

The story of his life is the story of the possibilities of humanity. He typified that manhood which starts in poverty and want, and by its intrinsic virtue rises until it attains the throne. His father was a poor carpenter, his mother the daughter of a western pioneer. Born in Kentucky, his family removed to Indiana when he was seven years of age and settled in the forest country near Little Pigeon Creek, in the Valley of the Ohio. The primitive home was far from civilization. The President described it as "a wild region with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods, and there were some schools so-called; but no qualification was ever required of the teacher beyond readin', writin', and cipherin' to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education."

The rugged life tended to consecrate all energy upon merely physical problems. Nevertheless through the community ran a strong moral and religious sentiment, and in the backwoods boy there was an insatiable love of knowledge. The material furnished by his school he worked over and reworked in order to obtain complete mastery of the facts as well as mental discipline. Without any suggestion from others he began when a mere boy to write down in a note book his thoughts, discoveries and generalizations. The life, though hard, was healthful, and the youth grew into a giant man.

At maturity he was six feet four, with a strength like that of Milo of Crotona. The graces and accomplishments of life had been up to that time a

sealed book. He was awkward, plain and uncouth, but even then he was gentle, kindly and courteous. His giant strength was never misapplied. All who knew him loved him and had confidence in his manhood. His life was uneventful, and was devoted to the rudest labor. Felling trees, splitting rails, chopping firewood, building cabins, clearing the soil and speeding the plough were his college-curriculum. When he had helped his father complete the farm, he left home and went into business on his own account. The work which came to him allowed him leisure, which he devoted to reading and study. It was after reaching his majority that he began English grammar, and started in a haphazard way the study of farm surveying and the law.

While at his books the news came of the Black Hawk war. Lincoln volunteered as a private soldier and was elected Captain. Hostilities were brief, his service lasting scarcely two months. On his return from the camp he became a candidate for the Illinois legislature, and made so brilliant a campaign in ten days as to come in the third out of twelve candidates. His popularity was exemplified by the vote of his neighbors, New Salem giving 277 for and 3 against him. Store-keeping was his next venture, but proved a failure. He worked at odd jobs, making enough money to supply his modest wants, and devoting all the rest of his time to legal studies. In 1834, he was again a candidate for the Assembly and was elected.

In the legislation, he proved faithful to his constituents and re-election came to him in 1836, 1838 and 1840. In the meantime he had been admitted to the bar and had removed to Springfield, Illinois, where he formed a law partnership with John T. Stuart. He prospered both at the bar and in politics, becoming by degrees the chief Whig orator in Illinois. At the beginning, his oratory was simple, straightforward

ward and strong, with but few marks of cultivation. But it steadily improved with time and practice. Quick perceptions, a powerful memory and steadfast reading were developing the man from day to day.

In 1846 he was elected to Congress, where he favored a bill for the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia. On account of prevailing conditions, slavery and anti-slavery were tabooed topics at the time. There was a reign of terror throughout the land, which caused both those who favored and those who opposed the institution to keep silent on the subject. The moral cowardice displayed by those whom he knew to be in favor of human freedom disgusted the young Congressman who declined re-election upon the expiration of his term.

His action in Washington had stamped him for life. He was *persona non grata* with the pro-slavery leaders, and from that time on was blacklisted in their minds with the abolitionists of the land. In 1854 arose the tempest which followed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. This measure, which threw open the territories to slavery, and threatened to make the United States a slave-holding Republic from Maine to Oregon, aroused every cell and fibre of Lincoln's being. Up to this point he had been a great whig lawyer and leader. Without knowing it he became the Anti-Slavery champion.

In the campaign which followed, he was the chief orator of his party, and was pitted against Senator Stephen A. Douglass the leader of the State Democracy. Lincoln's friends almost carried the legislature, and named him as their candidate for senator to succeed General James Shields whose term of office was about to expire. There were four independent members who held the balance of power in the legislature, whose candidate was Judge Lyman Trumbull. Rather than have his State represented

or misrepresented by a Pro-Slavery senator, Lincoln induced his friends to transfer their support to Trumbull, who was thereupon made Shields' successor. The action showed Lincoln's patriotism and love of liberty. Now came into being the new Republican party, which was formed for the Anti-Slavery elements of the old Whig and Democratic organizations.

In the birth of Republicanism, Lincoln was a prime factor, and became by general consent its leader in Illinois. In 1858 occurred the famous series of joint discussions between Lincoln and Douglass, the former attacking and the latter defending the doctrine of non-intervention with slavery in the territories. These debates aroused universal notice. The Pro-slavery leaders of the South were irritated when they saw that slavery, which had been connived at for generations, was about to become an issue before the American public. The politicians of the old schools were dismayed because they realized that the introduction of this issue would sweep away the conventions and landmarks of a lifetime. The country was deeply interested, when for the first time anti-slavery was proclaimed by a man whose moral and mental grandeur had been already recognized by the Western States of the Union.

The importance of the contest was appreciated by all, and by none more than Lincoln himself. In his oration of June 16, 1858, he declared "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the House to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all the one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that

it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States old as well as new, north as well as south."

It can be seen from this speech that Lincoln favored the extinction of slavery by gradual and peaceful means, acting under the operation of State and National law, and that he believed slavery to be impotent to bring the Union to an end. His opinion must have been prophetic, or perhaps based upon his confidence in the inexorableness of moral law in national as well as individual life. To the politicians and thinkers of that period the triumph of pro-slavery ideas seemed inevitable. These controlled Congress, the adjudications of the Supreme Court, the Democratic party and the wealthy classes of the land. With the slave-holders were the time-servers, the office-seekers and the mob in every city. With slavery were all the forces of hypocrisy and double-dealing. Liberty was a proscribed topic in the parlor, the newspaper and the pulpit. In fact a large part of both press and pulpit were outspoken in favor of the so-called righteousness of the human chattel system.

Though the Pro-Slavery forces were victorious in 1858, the victory cost them almost as much as defeat. It aroused the American people, who began organizing in a manner such as the country had never known before. Lincoln was an advocate of an educational campaign which would bring home to every citizen the vital importance of the new issues. On February 27, 1860, he delivered an address at the Cooper Institute in New York, which for scholarship and beauty was a masterpiece. He took up the long asserted claim that slavery was sacred, and had been deliberately and wisely made a part of the National Constitution by the founders of the Republic, and

destroyed it with a learning that was magnificent, and a logic that was pitiless. He proved that nearly every one of the builders of the Republic, and of its great thinkers and writers, had opposed human bondage and had argued or prayed for its abolition. The speech, heard by cheering thousands, was read by approving millions, it being published in nearly every town and city of the land.

It did more than excite discussion, it impressed the American people with the tremendous personality of the speaker. When the National Republican convention met in Chicago in May of that year, his name was presented for the Presidency by the great delegations of the West. In this famous assemblage fate seems to have interfered with the plans of the politicians. The many slates which had been made in the cabinets of State leaders were broken and the names of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hannibal Hamlin, the noble patriot of Bangor, Maine, were presented to the voters of the nation.

Even now the outlook was nearly hopeless. At the utmost the Republicans were in a minority, and the discussion now begun seemed destined to be transferred to the halls of Congress, where it might drag its slow length along for years to come. Again Fate intervened and split the opposition into conflicting factions. The American or Union party assembled and nominated Bell and Everett; the Democracy gathered at Charleston and split into two organizations, one naming Breckenridge and Lane and the other Douglass and Johnson. The canvass of the votes in November was unspeakably eloquent. Lincoln had received one million eight hundred thousand votes and the opposition two million eight hundred thousand votes. He was a minority President by a million votes, but through the majority being split upon three tickets, he had a plurality of five hundred

thousand, and an electoral plurality of fifty-seven votes.

The results of the election were immediate secession and war. Before he was inaugurated seven States had seceded and formed a new government and nation styled the Confederate States of America, with Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander H. Stevens as Vice-President. The Federal property in these Commonwealths was promptly seized, and more especially all the arms and munitions of war. A military organization was effected, and in Charleston harbor the South Carolinians fired upon the steamer, "Star of the West," which was conveying supplies to Fort Sumter.

War had begun, and both North and South awaited with eagerness the words of the new President. In his inaugural address he spoke with a calmness and serenity which will ever be memorable. His words were those of a prophet as well as a statesman. Declaring that the nation is not a league but a union, and that secession was illegal, he announced his intention of occupying all the places belonging to the Federal government and to perform the duties of his office in every State, South and North. As he closed he said, "We are not enemies but friends. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched as surely they will be by the better angels of our nature."

On April 12, 1861, General Beauregard, in command of the Confederate forces at Charleston, S. C., opened fire upon Fort Sumter, and bombarded it for thirty-four hours, when the garrison, worn out and with the food supply exhausted was compelled to

surrender. Up to this point, there had been hopes of peace; now hope vanished, and the North rose up for war. Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops, and three hundred thousand men volunteered. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee seceded and joined the Confederacy.

The war rose to ever larger proportions, until it surpassed anything the earth had ever known. The hosts of Goth and Hun, Vandal and Teuton, Roman and Greek, were as playthings compared with those which were marshaled under the Stars and Stripes and the Stars and Bars. In single battles, more men were killed, wounded and captured than large historic armies. The legions of the North made a human wall from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the Mississippi to the Mexican border. Around the long coast of the South on both Atlantic and Gulf, patrolled the Northern navy of more than a thousand craft. The forces on land and sea amazed the world with their prodigious numbers.

It was more than war such as had been known by that name. It was not a quarrel over a territory, or an international question, but the life and death struggle between irreconcilable national forces. Legally it was nationality versus States-Rights; morally it was freedom versus slavery. Though the two issues in the main coincided yet here and there they swerved far apart. There were Pro-slavery men in the Northern army and Anti-slavery men in the Southern. The house was divided against itself, father against son, and brother against brother. Of the fierceness, the unconquerable pertinacity, the immeasurable self-sacrifice, the infinite heroism and the amazing generalship of the struggle, nothing like it is to be found in the annals of the race. At least a million human beings gave up their lives while the cost was up in the billions.

During this long and terrible tragedy Lincoln was the genius of the North. To the preservation of the nation he consecrated his life, and dedicated every moment to the people. Though surrounded by a cabinet of extraordinary ability in both of his terms, having been re-elected in 1864, he was the government. He kept in touch so far as he could with every part of the nation and with the foreign powers, who stood anxiously watching the contest. His soul was a well-spring of encouragement to the weak, praise to the brave, sympathy to the suffering, consolation to the afflicted and hope for the despairing. He cheered departing and welcomed returning troops, superintended the fortifying of the capital, looked into the welfare of camp, garrison and military prison and was from first to last a miracle of physical and intellectual activity.

In 1862 he struck a great blow at slavery by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, which took effect on New Year's day, 1863. The time had become ripe for this measure. Prior to 1862 its issuance would have been a blunder of the worst sort. Old political associations ran strong, and a vast part of the North would not have listened to any proposition looking toward enfranchisement. Even now it was denounced at the North while in the South the Confederate Congress threatened death to any white officer captured when commanding or serving with Negro troops. But the denunciation met no response among the men grimed with battle, and the threats of the South fell upon the deaf ear of white and black alike. Before the year was done fifty-thousand ex-slaves had been enrolled in the Union armies, and ere the close of the war the number had risen to two hundred thousand.

At last secession and slavery gave way. They had fought a fight whose heroism is immortal, but

they had been crushed by the superior forces of the North. Behind the latter were greater influences invisible to mortal eyes. Long before the war was over, the South had been obliged to realize the false logic of its position. If the Confederacy had the right to secede from the Union, each Confederate State had in turn the right to secede from the Confederacy. Once this was threatened, and the answer from the Confederate leaders was the charge of treason. The American continent is concave and the people of the Mississippi valley must own and use that land under one government. There is no possibility of its being held by two. Slavery might be protected for years by law and custom, but it had become an anachronism, and in all crises was bound to weaken the land in which it prevailed. General Longstreet recognized the voice of destiny when he pointed out one day that the faithful slaves were of little benefit to the South while in the northern armies were tens of thousands of newly arrived free workingmen. On April 9th, at Appomattox, Major-General Robert Edward Lee, the greatest warrior of the South, surrendered to Major-General Ulysses S. Grant, and the most momentous war of history was closed.

The conflict over, Lincoln began forthwith to carry out a plan of reconciliation and mercy. The motto of the policy which he shaped might be summed up in the words of his sublime Gettysburg speech, "With malice toward none; with charity for all."

On the day after the fall of Richmond, he made a visit to the late Southern Capital, walked its streets unguarded and held a levee in the mansion of Jefferson Davis. Returning to Washington he resumed his work, looking forward to a reconstruction of the South which would put it speedily in a position to recover from the effects of the war. On April 14,

1865, the anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter, he attended Ford's Theatre, and while sitting in a box with his wife, was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth.

Majestic as it had become at the time of his death, his fame has increased steadily with each succeeding year. Unto no historical character in the New World, and perhaps the Old, has more study been devoted, and each inquiry has but served to reveal noble actions, lofty thoughts, and high ideals. In him the manly virtues of mind and soul were at a maximum. Possessing goodness and charity, wit and humor, analysis and synthesis, logic and knowledge of human nature, freedom from prejudice and bias, equanimity in all things, modesty and self-respect, kindness and yet dignity, he seems to have had none of the failings or shortcomings which so often mar the great men of history. He fills so large a place in human annals that he rises superior to mere words. In him American institutions had their fairest flower and their finest personal embodiment. Within and yet beyond the man was a spirituality rarely encountered in political life, which suggests the great poets, reformers and martyrs of the race, rather than the busy workers or the tireless statesmen. He was each and all of these, and in each phase of his character he presents a completeness which will never be forgotten.

The morning-glory gleams a few glad hours;
The shafted lilies and the rosebud bowers
Bloom a brief space and then dissolve away;
But through the centuries an oak tree towers
O'er all the rest of Nature's proud array.

As sails the mariner away from home,
The silver shores recede beyond the foam;

The meadows fade beneath the billows bleak,
Till all that shows above the water's comb
To say farewell is one lone massive peak.

The stars which smile in splendor from the skies
To-night, are lost to-morrow to the eyes,
Or else to galaxies unborn give place,—
All but the Polar star which never flies
But stands, the fitting symbol of our race.

The heroes come and go and are forgot;
The tides of time submerge each well-loved spot,
And faith and worship move to new-found stars
Yet still one sacred figure changeth not,
But groweth grander than its earthly bars—

The figure of the President who bore
A Nation's burden both in peace and war,
And never quailed beneath the heaviest load;
Who armed with love, broke open wide the door
Which shut our land from liberty's abode;

Who never lost his faith in fellow men,
Nor love, though tempted often and again,
Nor e'en his mirth, despite the hour's distress:
Who rendered homage by the tongue and pen
Unto the power which makes for righteousness.



**OFFICIAL STORY OF THE AMERICAN
OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR**

OFFICIAL STORY OF THE AMERICAN OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR

From General John J. Pershing's Report to Secretary of War

Reprinted from "Current History"

January, 1920

General John J. Pershing, Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe, submitted his final report to the Secretary of War late in November and it was made public December 13, 1919.

The War Department planned as early as July, 1917, to send to France by June 15, 1918, twenty-one divisions of the then strength of 20,000 men each, together with auxiliary and replacement troops, and those needed for the line of communications, amounting to over 200,000, making a total of some 650,000 men. Beginning with October, six divisions were to be sent during that quarter, seven during the first quarter of 1918, and eight the second quarter. While these numbers fell short of my recommendation of July 6, 1917, which contemplated at least 1,000,000 men by May, 1918, it should be borne in mind that the main factor in the problem was the amount of shipping to become available for military purposes, in which must be included tonnage, required to supply the Allies with steel, coal, and food.

SITUATION REVIEWED

On December 2, 1917, an estimate of the situation was cabled to the War Department, with the following recommendation:

Paragraph 3. In view of these conditions, it is of the utmost importance to the allied cause that we move swiftly. The minimum number of troops we should plan to have in France by the end of June is four army corps of twenty-four divisions in addition to troops for service at the rear. Have impressed the present urgency upon General Bliss and other American members of the conference. Generals Robertson, Foch and Bliss agree with me that this is the minimum that should be aimed at. This figure is given as the lowest we should think of and is placed no higher because the limit of available transportation would not seem to warrant it.

Paragraph 4. A study of transportation facilities shows sufficient American tonnage to bring over this number of troops, but to do so there must be a reduction in the tonnage allotted to other than army needs. It is estimated that the shipping needed will have to be rapidly increased, up to 2,000,000 tons by May, in addition to the amount already allotted. The use of shipping for commercial purposes must be curtailed as much as possible. The Allies are very weak and we must come to their relief this year, 1918. The year after may be too late. It is very doubtful if they can hold on until 1919 unless we give them a lot of support this year. It is therefore recommended that a complete readjustment of transportation be made and that the needs of the War Department as set forth above be regarded as immediate. Further details of these requirements will be sent later.

A SECOND REPORT

Again on December 20, 1917:

Understood here that a shipping program based on tonnage in sight prepared in War College Division in September contemplated that entire First Corps with its corps troops and some 32,000 auxiliaries were to have been shipped by end of November, and that an additional program for December, January, and February contemplates that the shipment of the Second Corps with its corps troops and other auxiliaries should be practically completed by the end of February. Should such a program be carried out as per schedule and should shipments continue at corresponding rate, it would not succeed in placing even three complete corps, with proper proportion of army troops and auxiliaries, in France by the end of May. The actual facts are that shipments are not even keeping up to that schedule. It is now the middle of December and the First Corps is still incomplete by over two entire divisions (The First, Forty-second, Second, and Twenty-sixth Divisions have arrived but not the Replacement and the Depot Divisions), and many corps troops. It cannot be too emphatically declared that we should be prepared to take the field with at least four corps by June 30. In view of past performances with tonnage heretofore available such a project is impossible of fulfillment, but only by most strenuous attempts to attain such a result will we be in a position to take a proper part in operations in 1918. In view of fact that as the number of our troops here increases a correspondingly greater

amount of tonnage must be provided for their supply, and also in view of the slow rate of shipment with tonnage now available, it is of the most urgent importance that more tonnage should be obtained at once as already recommended in my cables and by General Bliss.

SUBDIVISION PLAN

During January, 1918, discussions were held with the British authorities that resulted in an agreement which became known as the subdivision plan and which provided for the transportation of six entire divisions in British tonnage without interference with our own shipping program. High commanders, staff, infantry, and auxiliary troops were to be given experience with British divisions, beginning with battalions, the artillery to be trained under American direction, using French material. It was agreed that when sufficiently trained these battalions were to be united for service under their own officers. It was planned that the period of training with the British should cover about ten weeks. To supervise the administration and training of these divisions the Second Corps Staff was organized Feb. 20, 1918.

In the latter part of January joint note No. 12, presented by the military representatives with the Supreme War Council, was approved by the council. This note concluded that France would be safe during 1918 only under certain conditions, namely:

(a) That the strength of the British and French troops in France be continuously kept up to their present total strength and that they receive the expected reinforcements of not less than two American divisions per month.

CRITICAL SITUATION, MARCH, 1918—
ALLIED AGREEMENT

The first German offensive of 1918, beginning March 21, overran all resistance during the initial period of the attack. Within eight days the enemy had completely crossed the old Somme battlefield and had swept everything before him to a depth of some fifty-six kilometers. For a few days the loss of the railroad centre of Amiens appeared imminent. The offensive made such inroads upon French and British reserves that defeat stared them in the face unless the new American troops should prove more immediately available than even the most optimistic had dared to hope. On March 27 the military representatives with the Supreme War Council prepared their joint note No. 18. This note repeated the previously quoted statement from joint note No. 12, and continued:

The battle which is developing at the present moment in France, and which can extend to the other theatres of operations, may very quickly place the allied armies in a serious situation from the point of view of effectives, and the military representatives are from this moment of opinion that the above-detailed condition can no longer be maintained, and they consider as a general proposition that the new situation requires new decisions.

The military representatives are of opinion that it is highly desirable that the American Government should assist the allied armies as soon as possible by permitting in principle the temporary service of American units in allied army corps and divisions. Such reinforcements must, however, be obtained from other units than those American divisions which are

now operating with the French, and the units so temporarily employed must eventually be returned to the American Army.

The military representatives are of the opinion that from the present time, in execution of the foregoing, and until otherwise directed by the Supreme War Council, only American infantry and machine-gun units, organized as that Government may decide, be brought to France, and that all agreements or conventions hitherto made in conflict with this decision be modified accordingly.

ASSIGNMENT OF FIRST ARRIVALS

The Secretary of War, who was in France at this time; General Bliss, the American military representative with the Supreme War Council, and I at once conferred on the terms of this note, with the result that the Secretary recommended to the President that joint note No. 18 be approved in the following sense:

The purpose of the American Government is to render the fullest co-operation and aid, and therefore the recommendation of the military representatives with regard to the preferential transportation of American infantry and machine-gun units in the present emergency is approved. South units, when transported, will be under the direction of the Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, and will be assigned for training and use by him in his discretion. He will use these and all other military forces of the United States under his command in such manner as to render the greatest military assistance, keeping in mind always the deter-

mination of this Government to have its various military forces collected, as speedily as their training and the military situation permit, into an independent American army, acting in concert with the armies of Great Britain and France, and all arrangements made by him for their temporary training and service will be made with that end in view.

While note No. 18 was general in its terms, the priority of shipments of infantry more especially pertained to those divisions that were to be trained in the British area, as that Government was to provide the additional shipping according to the six-division plan agreed upon even before the beginning of the March 21 offensive.

On April 2 the War Department cabled that preferential transportation would be given to American infantry and machine-gun units during the existing emergency. Preliminary arrangements were made for training and early employment with the French of such infantry units as might be sent over by our own transportation. As for the British agreement, the six-division plan was to be modified to give priority to the infantry of those divisions. However, all the Allies were now urging the indefinite continuation of priority for the shipment of infantry and its complete incorporation in their units, which fact was cabled to the War Department on April 3, with the specific recommendation that the total immediate priority of infantry be limited to four divisions, plus 45,500 replacements, and that the necessity for future priority be determined later.

The Secretary of War and I held a conference with British authorities on April 7, during which it developed that the British had erroneously assumed that the preferential shipment of infantry was to be con-

tinuous. It was agreed at this meeting that 60,000 infantry and machine-gun troops, with certain auxiliary units to be brought over by British tonnage during April, should go to the British area as part of the six-division plan, but that there should be a further agreement as to subsequent troops to be brought over by the British. Consequently, a readjustment of the priority schedule was undertaken on the basis of postponing "shipment of all noncombatant troops to the utmost possible to meet present situation, and at the same time not to make it impossible to build up our own army."

FIRST UNITS WITH BRITISH TROOPS

The battleline in the vicinity of Amiens had hardly stabilized when, on April 9, the Germans made another successful attack against the British lines on a front of some forty kilometers in the vicinity of Armentieres and along the Lys River. As a result of its being included in a salient formed by the German advance, Passchendaele Ridge, the capture of which had cost so dearly in 1917, was evacuated by the British on April 17.

The losses had been heavy and the British were unable to replace them entirely. They were, therefore, making extraordinary efforts to increase the shipping available for our troops. On April 21 I went to London to clear up certain questions concerning the rate of shipment and to reach the further agreement provided for in the April 7 conference. The result of this London agreement was cabled to Washington April 24, as follows:

(a) That only the infantry, machine guns, engineers, and signal troops of American divisions and the headquarters of divisions and brigades be sent over in British and American

shipping during May for training and service with the British Army in France up to six divisions, and that any shipping in excess of that required for these troops be utilized to transport troops necessary to make these divisions complete. The training and service of these troops will be carried out in accordance with plans already agreed upon between Sir Douglas Haig and General Pershing, with a view at an early date of building up American divisions.

(b) That the American personnel of the artillery of these divisions and such corps troops as may be required to build up American corps organizations follow immediately thereafter, and that American artillery personnel be trained with French material and join its proper divisions as soon as thoroughly trained.

(c) If, when the program outlined in paragraphs (a) and (b) is completed, the military situation makes advisable the further shipment of infantry, &c., of American divisions, then all the British and American shipping available for transport of troops shall be used for that purpose under such arrangement as will insure immediate aid to the Allies, and at the same time provide at the earliest moment for bringing over American artillery and other necessary units to complete the organization of American divisions and corps. Provided that the combatant troops mentioned in (a) and (b) be followed by such Service of the Rear and other troops as may be considered necessary by the American commander in Chief.

(d) That it is contemplated American divisions and corps, when trained and organized, shall be utilized under the American Commander in Chief in an American group.

(e) That the American Commander in Chief shall allot American troops to the French or British for training them with American units at his discretion, with the understanding that troops already transported by British shipping or included in the six divisions mentioned in paragraph (a) are to be trained with the British Army, details as to rations, equipment, and transport to be determined by special agreement.

INDEPENDENT AMERICAN ARMY

At a meeting of the Supreme War Council held at Abbeville May 1 and 2, the entire question of the amalgamation of Americans with the French and British was reopened. An urgent appeal came from both French and Italian representatives for American replacements or units to serve with their armies. After prolonged discussion regarding this question and that of priority generally the following agreement was reached, committing the council to an independent American army and providing for the immediate shipment of certain troops:

It is the opinion of the Supreme War Council that, in order to carry the war to a successful conclusion, an American army should be formed as early as possible under its own commander and under its own flag. In order to meet the present emergency it is agreed that American troops should be brought to France as rapidly as allied transportation facilities

will permit, and that, as far as consistent with the necessity of building up an American army, preference will be given to infantry and machine-gun units for training and service with French and British armies; with the understanding that such infantry and machine-gun units are to be withdrawn and united with its own artillery and auxiliary troops into divisions and corps at the direction of the American Commander in Chief after consultation with the Commander in Chief of the allied armies in France.

Subparagraph A. It is also agreed that during the month of May preference should be given to the transportation of infantry and machine-gun units of six divisions, and that any excess tonnage shall be devoted to bringing over such other troops as may be determined by the American Commander in Chief.

Subparagraph B. It is further agreed that this program shall be continued during the month of June upon condition that the British Government shall furnish transportation for a minimum of 130,000 men in May and 150,000 men in June, with the understanding that the first six divisions of infantry shall go to the British for training and service, and that troops sent over in June shall be allocated for training and service as the American Commander in Chief may determine.

Subparagraph C. It is also further agreed that if the British Government shall transport an excess of 150,000 men in June that such excess shall be infantry and machine-gun units, and that early in June there shall be a new review of the situation to determine further action.

PARIS IN GRAVE DANGER

The gravity of the situation had brought the Allies to a full realization of the necessity of providing all possible tonnage for the transportation of American troops. Although their views were accepted to the extent of giving a considerable priority to infantry and machine gunners, the priority agreed upon as to this class of troops was not as extensive as some of them deemed necessary, and the Abbeville conference was adjourned with the understanding that the question of further priority would be discussed at a conference to be held about the end of May.

The next offensive of the enemy was made between the Oise and Berry-au-Bac against the French instead of against the British, as was generally expected, and it came as a complete surprise. The initial Aisne attack, covering a front of thirty-five kilometers, met with remarkable success, as the German armies advanced no less than fifty kilometers in four days. On reaching the Marne that river was used as a defensive flank and the German advance was directed toward Paris. During the first days of June something akin to a panic seized the city and it was estimated that 1,000,000 people left during the Spring of 1918.

APPEAL OF PRIME MINISTERS

The further conference which had been agreed upon at Abbeville was held at Versailles on June 1 and 2. The opinion of our allies as to the existing situation and the urgency of their insistence upon further priority for infantry and machine gunners are shown by the following message prepared by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and agreed to by General Foch:

The Prime Ministers of France, Italy, and Great Britain, now meeting at Versailles, desire to send the

following message to the President of the United States:

We desire to express our warmest thanks to President Wilson for the remarkable promptness with which American aid in excess of what at one time seemed practicable has been rendered to the Allies during the last month to meet a great emergency. The crisis, however, still continues, General Foch has presented to us a statement of the utmost gravity, which points out that the numerical superiority of the enemy in France, where 162 allied divisions now oppose 200 German divisions, is very heavy, and that, as there is no possibility of the British and French increasing the number of their divisions (on the contrary, they are put to extreme straits to keep them up) there is a great danger of the war being lost unless the numerical inferiority of the Allies can be remedied as rapidly as possible by the advent of American troops. He, therefore, urges with the utmost insistence that the maximum possible number of infantry and machine gunners, in which respect the shortage of men on the side of the Allies is most marked, should continue to be shipped from America in the months of June and July to avert the immediate danger of an allied defeat in the present campaign owing to the allied reserves being exhausted before those of the enemy. In addition to this, and looking to the future, he represents that it is impossible to foresee ultimate victory in the war unless America is able to provide such an army as will enable the Allies ultimately to establish numerical superiority. He places

the total American force required for this at no less than 100 divisions, and urges the continuous raising of fresh American levies, which, in his opinion, should not be less than 300,000 a month, with a view to establishing a total American force of 100 divisions at as early a date as this can possibly be done.

We are satisfied that General Foch, who is conducting the present campaign with consummate ability, and on whose military judgment we continue to place the most absolute reliance, is not overestimating the needs of the case, and we feel confident that the Government of the United State will do everything that can be done, both to meet the needs of the immediate situation and to proceed with the continuous raising of fresh levies calculated to provide as soon as possible the numerical superiority which the Commander in Chief of the allied armies regards as essential to ultimate victory.

A separate telegram contains the arrangements which General Foch, General Pershing, and Lord Milner have agreed to recommend to the United States Government with regard to the dispatch of American troops for the months of June and July.

(Signed)

D. LLOYD GEORGE,
CLEMENCEAU,
ORLANDO.

FINAL DISTRIBUTION OF TROOPS

Such extensive priority had already been given to the transport of American infantry and machine gunners that the troops of those categories which had received even partial training in the United States were practically exhausted. Moreover, the strain on our services of supply made it essential that early relief be afforded by increasing its personnel. At the same time, the corresponding services of our allies had in certain departments been equally overtaxed and their responsible heads were urgent in their representations that their needs must be relieved by bringing over American specialists. The final agreement was cabled to the War Department on June 5, as follows:

The following agreement has been concluded between General Foch, Lord Milner, and myself with reference to the transportation of American troops in the months of June and July:

The following recommendations are made on the assumption that at least 250,000 men can be transported in each of the months of June and July by the employment of combined British and American tonnage. We recommend:

(a) For the month of June: (1) Absolute priority shall be given to the transportation of 170,000 combatant troops (viz., six divisions without artillery, ammunition trains, or supply trains, amounting to 126,000 men and 44,000 replacements for combat troops); (2) 25,400 men for the service of the railways, of which 13,400 have been asked for by the French Minister of Transportation; (3) the

balance to be troops of categories to be determined by the Commander in Chief, American Expeditionary Forces.

(b) For the month of July: (1) Absolute priority for the shipment of 140,000 combatant troops of the nature defined above (four divisions minus artillery "et cetera," amounting to 84,000 men, plus 56,000 replacement); (2) the balance of the 250,000 to consist of troops to be designated by the Commander in Chief of American Expeditionary Forces.

(c) It is agreed that if the available tonnage in either month allows of the transportation of a larger number of men than 250,000, the excess tonnage will be employed in the transportation of combat troops as defined above.

(d) We recognize that the combatant troops to be dispatched in July may have to include troops which have had insufficient training, but we consider the present emergency is such to justify a temporary and exceptional departure by the United States from sound principles of training, especially as a similar course is being followed by France and Great Britain.

(Signed)

FOCH,
MILNER,
PERSHING.

The various proposals during these conferences regarding priority of shipment, often very insistent, raised questions that were not only most difficult but most delicate. On the one hand, there was a critical situation which must be met by immediate action, while on the other hand, any priority accorded a particular arm necessarily postponed the formation of a distinctive American fighting force and the means to supply it. Such a force was, in my opinion, absolutely necessary to win the war. A few of the allied representatives became convinced that the American services of supply should not be neglected, but should be developed in the common interest. The success of our divisions during May and June demonstrated fully that it was not necessary to draft Americans under foreign flags in order to utilize American manhood most effectively.

THE MIGHTY ONSLAUGHT OF THE GERMANS

When, on March 21, 1918, the German army on the western front began its series of offensives, it was by far the most formidable force the world had ever seen. In fighting men and guns it had a great superiority, but this was of less importance than the advantage in morale, in experience, in training for mobile warfare, and in unity of command. Ever since the collapse of the Russian armies and the crisis on the Italian front in the Fall of 1917, German armies were being assembled and trained for the great campaign which was to end the war before America's effort could be brought to bear. Germany's best troops, her most successful Generals, and all the experience gained in three years of war were mobilized for the supreme effort.

The first blow fell on the right of the British armies, including the junction of the British and

French forces. Only the prompt co-operation of the French and British General Headquarters stemmed the tide. The reason for this objective was obvious and strikingly illustrated the necessity for having some one with sufficient authority over all the allied armies to meet such an emergency. The lack of complete co-operation among the Allies on the western front had been appreciated, and the question of preparation to meet a crisis had already received attention by the Supreme War Council. A plan had been adopted by which each of the Allies would furnish a certain number of divisions for a general reserve, to be under the direction of the military representatives of the Supreme War Council, of which General Foch was then the senior member. But when the time came to meet the German offensive in March these reserves were not found available and the plan failed.

FOCH IS SELECTED

This situation resulted in a conference for the immediate consideration of the question of having an allied Commander in Chief. After much discussion, during which my view favoring such action was clearly stated, an agreement was reached and General Foch was selected. His appointment as such was made April 3 and was approved for the United States by the President on April 16. The terms of the agreement under which General Foch exercised his authority were as follows:

Beauvais, April 3, 1918.

General Foch is charged by the British French and American Governments with the co-ordination of the action of the allied armies on the western front; to this end there is con-

ferred on him all the powers necessary for its effective realization. To the same end, the British, French and American Governments confide in General Foch the strategic direction of military operations.

The Commmander in Chief of the British French and American armies will exercise to the fullest extent the tactical direction of their armies. Each Commander in Chief will have the right to appeal to his Government, if in his opinion his army is placed in danger by the instructions received from General Foch.

(Signed) G. CLEMENCEAU,
PETAIN,
F. FOCH,
LLYOD GEORGE,
D. HAIG, F. M.
HENRY WILSON,
General, 3, 4, 18.
TASKER H. BLISS,
General and Chief of Staff.
JOHN J. PERSHING,
General. U. S. A.

EMPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN DIVISIONS, MARCH TO SEPTEMBER

The grave crisis precipitated by the first German offensive caused me to make a hurried visit to General Foch's headquarters at Bombon, during which all our combatant forces were placed at his disposal. The acceptance of this offer meant the dispersion of our troops along the allied front and a consequent delay in building up a distinctive American force in Lorraine, but the serious situation of the Allies demanded this divergence from our plans.

On March 21, approximately 300,000 American troops had reached France. Four combat divisions, equivalent in strength to eight French or British divisions, were available—the 1st and 2d then in line, and the 26th and 42d just withdrawn from line after one month's trench warfare training. The last two divisions at once began taking over quiet sectors to release divisions for the battle; the 26th relieved the 1st Division, which was sent to northwest of Paris in reserve; the 42d relieved two French divisions from quiet sectors. In addition to these troops, one regiment of the 93d Division was with the French in the Argonne, the 41st Depot Division was in the Services of Supply, and three divisions (3d, 32d, and 5th) were arriving.

On April 25 the 1st Division relieved two French divisions on the front near Montdidier and on May 28 captured the important observation stations on the heights of Cantigny with splendid dash. French artillery, aviation, tanks, and flame throwers aided in the attack, but most of this French assistance was withdrawn before the completion of the operation, in order to meet the enemy's new offensive launched May 27 toward Chateau-Thierry. The enemy reaction against our troops at Cantigny was extremely

violent, and apparently he was determined at all costs to counteract the most excellent effect the American success had produced. For three days his guns of all calibers were concentrated on our new position and counterattack succeeded counterattack. The desperate efforts of the Germans gave the fighting at Cantigny a seeming tactical importance entirely out of proportion to the numbers involved.

Of the three divisions arriving in France when the first German offensive began, the 32d, intended for replacements, had been temporarily employed in the Services of Supply to meet a shortage of personnel, but the critical situation caused it to be reassembled, and by May 21 it was entering the line in the Vosges. At this time the 5th Division, though still incomplete, was also ordered into the line in the same region. The 3d Division was assembling in its training area and the 3d Corps staff had just been organized to administer these three divisions. In addition to the eight divisions already mentioned, the 28th and 77th had arrived in the British area, and the 4th, 27th, 13th, 33d, 35th, and 82d were arriving there. Following the agreements as to British shipping, our troops came so rapidly that by the end of May we had a force of 600,000 in France.

The third German offensive, on May 27, against the French on the Aisne, soon developed a desperate situation for the Allies. The 2d Division, then in reserve northwest of Paris and preparing to relieve the 1st Division, was hastily diverted to the vicinity of the Meaux on May 31, and, early on the morning of June 1, was deployed across the Chateau-Thierry-Paris road near Montreuil-aux-Lions in a gap in the French line, where it stopped the German advance on Paris. At the same time the partially trained 3d division was placed at French disposal to hold the crossings of the Marne, and its motorized machine-

gun battalion succeeded in reaching Chateau-Thierry in time to assist in successfully defending that river crossing.

BELLEAU WOODS

The enemy having been halted, the 2d Division commenced a series of vigorous attacks on June 4, which resulted in the capture of Belleau Woods after very severe fighting. The village of Bouresches was taken soon after, and on July 1 Vaux was captured. In these operations the 2d Division met with most desperate resistance by Germany's best troops.

To meet the March offensive, the French had extended their front from the Oise to Amiens, about sixty kilometers, and during the German drive along the Lys had also sent reenforcements to assist the British. The French lines had been further lengthened about forty-five kilometers as a result of the Marne pocket made by the Aisne offensive. This increased frontage and the heavy fighting had reduced French reserves to an extremely low point.

Our Second Corps, under Major Gen. George W. Read, had been organized for the command of the ten divisions with the British, which were held back in training areas or assigned to second-line defenses. After consultation with Field Marshal Haig on June 3, five American divisions were relieved from the British area to support the French. The 77th and 82d Divisions were removed south to release the 42d and 26th for employment on a more active portion of the front; the 35th Division entered the line in the Vosges, and the 4th and 25th Divisions were moved to the region of Meaux and Chateau-Thierry as reserves.

On June 9 the Germans attacked the Mondidier-Noyon front in an effort to widen the Marne pocket and bring their lines nearer to Paris, but were stub-

bornly held by the French with comparatively little loss of ground. In view of the unexpected results of the three preceding attacks by the enemy, this successful defense proved beneficial to the allied morale, particularly as it was believed that the German losses were unusually heavy.

On July 15, the date of the last German offensive, the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 26th Divisions were on the Chateau-Thierry front with the 4th and 28th in support, some small units of the last two divisions gaining front-line experience with our troops or with the French; the 42d Division was in support of the French east of Rheims, and four colored regiments were with the French in the Argonne. On the Alsace-Lorraine front we had five divisions in line with the French. Five were with the British Army, three having elements in the line. In our training areas four divisions were assembled and four were in the process of arrival.

AMERICANS BAR THE WAY TO PARIS

The Marne salient was inherently weak and offered an opportunity for a counteroffensive that was obvious.

If successful, such an operation would afford immediate relief to the allied defense, would remove the threat against Paris, and free the Paris-Nancy railroad. But, more important than all else, it would restore the morale of the Allies and remove the profound depression and fear then existing. Up to this time our units had been put in here and there at critical points as emergency troops to stop the terrific German advance. In every trial, whether on the defensive or offensive, they had proved themselves equal to any troops in Europe. As early as June 23 and again on July 10 at Bombon, I had very strongly

urged our best divisions be concentrated under American command, if possible, for use as a striking force against the Marne salient. Although the prevailing view among the Allies was that American units were suitable only for the defensive, and that at all events they could be used to better advantage under allied command, the suggestion was accepted in principle, and my estimate of their offensive fighting qualities was soon put to the test.

The enemy had encouraged his soldiers to believe that the July 15 attack would conclude the war with a German peace. Although he made elaborate plans for the operation, he failed to conceal fully his intentions, and the front of attack was suspected at least one week ahead. On the Champagne front the actual hour for the assault was known and the enemy was checked with heavy losses. The 42d Division entered the line near Somme Py immediately, and five of its infantry battalions and all its artillery became engaged. Southwest of Rheims and along the Marne to the east of Chateau-Thierry the Germans were at first somewhat successful, a penetration of eight kilometers beyond the river being effected against the French immediately to the right of our 3d Division. The following quotation from the report of the commanding General, 3d Division, gives the result of the fighting on his front:

"Although the rush of the German troops overwhelmed some of the front-line positions, causing the infantry and machine-gun companies to suffer, in some cases a 50 per cent. loss, no German soldier crossed the road from Fossoy to Crezancy, except as a prisoner of war, and by noon of the following day (July 16) there were no Germans in the foreground of the 3d Division sector except the dead."

On this occasion a single regiment of the 3d Division wrote one of the most brilliant pages in our mili-

tary annals. It prevented the crossing at certain points on its front, while on either flank the Germans who had gained a footing pressed forward. Our men, firing in three directions, met the German attacks with counterattacks at critical points and succeeded in throwing two German divisions into complete confusion, capturing 600 prisoners.

The selection by the Germans of the Champagne sector and the eastern and southern faces of the Marne pocket on which to make their offensive was fortunate for the Allies, as it favored the launching of the counterattack already planned. There were now over 1,200,000 American troops in France, which provided a considerable force of reserves. Every American division with any sort of training was made available for use in a counteroffensive.

General Petain's initial plan for the counterattack involved the entire western face of the Marne salient. The 1st and 2d American Divisions, with the 1st French Moroccan Division between them, were employed as the spearhead of the main attack, driving directly eastward, through the most sensitive portion of the German lines, to the heights south of Soissons. The advance began on July 18, without the usual brief warning of a preliminary bombardment, and these three divisions at a single bound broke through the enemy's infantry defenses and overran his artillery, cutting or interrupting the German communications leading into the salient. A general withdrawal from the Marne was immediately begun by the enemy, who still fought stubbornly to prevent disaster.

MAGNIFICENT DASH NEAR SOISSONS

The 1st Division, throughout four days of constant fighting, advanced eleven kilometers, capturing Berzy-le-Sec and the heights above Soissons and tak-

ing some 3,500 prisoners and sixty-eight field guns from the seven German divisions employed against it. It was relieved by a British division. The 2d Division advanced eight kilometers in the first twenty-six hours, and by the end of the second day was facing Tigny, having captured 3,000 prisoners and sixty-six field guns. It was relieved the night of the 19th by a French division.

"The result of this counteroffensive was of decisive importance. Due to the magnificent dash and power displayed on the field of Soissons by our 1st and 2d Divisions the tide of the war was definitely turned in favor of the Allies."

Other American divisions participated in the Marne counteroffensive. A little to the south of the 2d Division, the 4th was in the line with the French and was engaged until July 22. The 1st American Corps, Major Gen. Hunter Liggett commanding, with the 26th Division and a French division, acted as a pivot of the movement toward Soissons, capturing Torcy on the 18th and reaching the Chateau-Thierry-Soissons roads on the 21st. At the same time the 3d Division crossed the Marne and took the heights of Mont Saint Peter and the villages of Chartevès and Jaulgonne.

ADVANCING TO THE VESLE

In the 1st Corps, the 42d Division relieved the 26th on July 25 and extended its front, on the 26th relieving French division. From this time until August 2 it fought its way through the Forest de Fère and across the Ourcq, advancing toward the Vesle until relieved by the 4th Division on August 3. Early in this period elements of the 28th Division participated in the advance.

Further to the east the 3d Division forced the enemy back to Roncheres Wood, where it was re-

lieved on July 30 by the 32d Division from the Vosges front. The 32d, after relieving the 3d and some elements of the 28th on the line of the Ourcq River, advanced abreast of the 42d toward the Vesle. On August 3 it passed under control of our 3d Corps, Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard commanding, which made its first appearance in battle at this time, while the 4th Division took up the task of the 42d Division and advanced with the 32d to the Vesle River, where, on August 6, the operations for the reduction of the Marne salient terminated.

In the hard fighting from July 18 to August 6 the Germans were not only halted in their advance, but were driven back from the Marne to the Vesle and committed wholly to the defensive. The force of American arms had been brought to bear in time to enable the last offensive of the enemy to be crushed.

BATTLES ON THE VESLE

The 1st and 3d Corps now held a continuous front of eleven kilometers along the Vesle. On August 12 the 77th Division relieved the 4th Division on the 1st Corps front, and the following day the 28th relieved the 32d Division in the 3d Corps, while from August 6 to August 10 the 6th Infantry Brigade of the 3d Division held a sector on the river line. The transfer of the 1st Corps to the Woevre was ordered at this time, and the control of its front was turned over to the 3d Corps.

On August 13 General Petain began an offensive between Rheims and the Oise. Our 3d Corps participated in this operation, crossing the Vesle on September 4, with the 28th and 77th Divisions and overcoming stubborn opposition on the plateau south of the Aisne, which was reached by the 77th on September 6. The 28th was withdrawn from the line on September 7. Two days later the 3d Corps was

transferred to the region of Verdun, the 77th Division remaining in line on the Aisne River until September 17.

The 32d Division, upon its relief from the battle on the Vesle, joined a French corps north of Soissons and attacked from August 29 to 31, capturing Juvigny after some particularly desperate fighting and reaching the Chauny-Soissons road.

On the British front two regiments of the 33d Division participated in an attack on Hamel July 4, and again on August 9, as an incident of an allied offensive against the Amiens salient. One of these regiments took Gressaire Wood and Chipilly Bridge, capturing 700 prisoners and considerable material.

ASSEMBLING OF THE FIRST AMERICAN ARMY

In conference with General Petain at Chantilly on May 19 it had been agreed that the American Army would soon take complete charge of the sector of the Woevre. The 26th Division was already in line in the Woevre north of Toul and was to be followed by other American divisions as they became available, with the understanding that the sector was to pass to our control when four divisions were in the line. But demands of the battle then going on further west required the presence of our troops, and the agreement had no immediate result. Due to the presence of a number of our divisions northeast of Paris, the organization of an American corps sector in the Chateau-Thierry region was taken up with General Petain, and on July 4 the 1st Corps assumed tactical control of a sector in that region. This was an important step, but it was by no means satisfactory, as only one American division at the moment was operating under the control of the 1st Corps, while we had at this time eight American divisions in the front line serving in French corps.

The counteroffensive against the Marne salient in July, and against the Amiens salient in August had gained such an advantage that it was apparent that the emergency, which justified the dispersion of our divisions, had passed. The moment was propitious for assembling our divisions. Scattered as they were along the allied front, their supply had become very difficult. From every point of view the immediate organization of an independent American force was indicated. The formation of the army in the Chateau-Thierry region and its early transfer to the sector of the Woivre, which was to extend from Nomeny, east of the Moselle, to north of St. Mihiel, was therefore decided upon by Marshal Foch and myself on August 9, and the details were arranged with General Petain later on the same day.

AMERICANS IN THE ST. MIHIEL OPERATION

At Bombon on July 24 there was a conference of all the Commanders in Chief for the purpose of considering allied operations. Each presented proposals for the employment of the armies under his command, and these formed the basis of future co-operation of the Allies. It was emphatically determined that the allied attitude should be to maintain the offensive. At the first operation of the American Army the reduction of the salient of St. Mihiel was to be undertaken as soon as the necessary troops and material could be made available. On account of the swampy nature of the country it was especially important that the movement be undertaken and finished before the Fall rains should begin, which was usually about the middle of September.

Arrangements were concluded for successive relief of the American divisions, and the organization of the First American Army under my personal command was announced on August 10, with La Fertés-

ous-Jouarre as headquarters. This army nominally assumed control of a portion of the Vesle front, although at the same time directions were given for its secret concentration in the St. Mihiel sector.

The force of American soldiers in France at that moment was sufficient to carry out this offensive, but they were dispersed along the front from Switzerland to the Channel. The three army corps headquarters to participate in the St. Mihiel attack were the 1st, 4th, and 5th. The 1st was on the Vesle, the 4th at Toul, and the 5th not yet completely organized. To assemble combat divisions and service troops and undertake a major operation within the short period available and with staffs so recently organized was an extremely difficult task. Our deficiencies in artillery, aviation, and special troops, caused by the shipment of an undue proportion of infantry and machine guns during the Summer, were largely met by French.

The reduction of the St. Mihiel salient was important, as it would prevent the enemy from interrupting traffic on the Paris-Nancy Railroad by artillery fire and would free the railroad leading north through St. Mihiel to Verdun. It would also provide us with an advantageous base of departure for an attack against the Metz-Sedan railroad system, which was vital to the German armies west of Verdun, and against the Briey Iron Basin, which was necessary for the production of German armament and munitions.

FOCH'S PLAN OF BATTLE

The general plan was to make simultaneous attacks against the flanks of the salient. The ultimate objective was tentatively fixed as the general line Marieulles (east of the Moselle)—heights south of Gorze-Mars in Tour-Etain. The operations contem-

plated the use of the western face of three or four American divisions, supported by the attack of six divisions of the Second French Army on their left, while seven American divisions would attack on the southern face, and three French divisions would press the enemy at the tip of the salient. As the part to be taken by the Second French Army would be closely related to the attack of the First American Army, General Petain placed all the French troops involved under my personal command.

By August 20 the concentration of the scattered divisions, corps, and army troops, of the quantities of supplies and munitions required, and the necessary construction of light railways and roads, were well under way.

In accordance with the previous general consideration of operations at Bombon on July 24, an allied offensive extending practically along the entire active front was eventually to be carried out. After the reduction of the St. Mihiel sector the Americans were to co-operate in the concerted effort of the allied armies. It was the sense of the conference of July 24 that the extent to which the different operations already planned might carry us could not be then foreseen, especially if the results expected were achieved before the season was far advanced. It seemed reasonable at that time to look forward to a combined offensive for the Autumn, which would give no respite to the enemy and would increase our advantage for the inauguration of succeeding operations extending into 1919.

On August 30 a further discussion with Marshal Foch was held at my headquarters at Ligny-en-Barrois. In view of the new successes of the French and British near Amiens and the continued favorable results toward the Chemin des Dames on the French front, it was now believed that the limited allied of-

fensive, which was to prepare for the campaign of 1919, might be carried further before the end of the year. At this meeting it was proposed by Marshal Foch that the generous operations as far as the American Army was concerned should be carried out in detail by:

(a) An attack between the Meuse and the Argonne by the Second French Army, reinforced by from four to six American divisions.

(b) A French-American attack, extending from the Argonne west to the Souain road, to be executed on the right by an American Army astride the Aisne and on the left by the Fourth French Army.

To carry out these attacks the ten to eleven American divisions suggested for the St. Mihiel operation and the four to six for the Second French Army, would have eight to ten divisions for an American Army on the Aisne. It was proposed that the St. Mihiel operation should be initiated on September 10, and the other two on September 15 and 20, respectively.

PERSHING'S PLAN SUPERSEDES THAT OF FOCH

The plan suggested for the American participation in these operations was not acceptable to me because it would require the immediate separation of the recently formed First American Army into several groups, mainly to assist French armies. This was directly contrary to the principle of forming a distinct American army, for which my contention had been insistent. An enormous amount of preparation had already been made in construction of roads, railroads, regulating stations, and other installations looking to the use and supply of our armies on a particular front. The inherent disinclination of our troops to serve under allied commanders would have grown and American morale would have suffered.

My position was stated quite clearly that the strategical employment of the First Army as a unit would be undertaken where desired, but its disruption to carry out these proposals would not be entertained.

A further conference at Marshal Foch's headquarters was held on September 2, at which General Petain was present. After discussion the question of employing the American Army as a unit was conceded. The essentials of the strategical decision previously arrived at provided that the advantageous situation of the Allies should be exploited to the utmost by vigorously continuing the general battle and extending it eastward to the Meuse. All the allied armies were to be employed in a converging action. The British armies, supported by the left of the French armies, were to pursue the attack in the direction of Cambrai; the centre of the French armies, west of Rheims, would continue the actions already begun to drive the enemy beyond the Aisne; and the American Army, supported by the right of the French armies would direct its attack on Sedan and Mezieres.

It should be recorded that although this general offensive was fully outlined at the conference no one present expressed the opinion that the final victory could be won in 1918. In fact, it was believed by the French High Command that the Meuse-Argonne attack could not be pushed much beyond Montfaucon before the arrival of Winter would force a cessation of operations.

The choice between the two sectors, that east of the Aisne, including the Argonne Forest, or the Champagne sector, was left to me. In my opinion no other allied troops had the morale or the offensive spirit to overcome successfully the difficulties to be met in the Meuse-Argonne sector, and our plans and installations had been prepared for an expansion of

operations in that direction. So the Meuse-Argonne front was chosen. The entire sector of 150 kilometers of front, extending from Port-sur-Seille, east of the Moselle, west to include the Argonne Forest, was accordingly placed under my command, including all French divisions then in that zone. The First American Army was to proceed with the St. Mihiel operation, after which the operation between the Meuse and the western edge of the Argonne Forest was to be prepared and launched not later than September 25.

THE FIELD OF BATTLE

As a result of these decisions the depth of the St. Mihiel operation was limited to the line Vigneulles-Thiaucourt-Regnieville. The number of divisions to be used was reduced and the time shortened. Eighteen to nineteen divisions were to be in the front line. There were four French and fifteen American divisions available, six of which would be in reserve, while the two flank divisions of the front line were not to advance. Furthermore, two Army Corps Headquarters, with their corps troops, practically all the army artillery and aviation, and the 1st, 2d, and 4th Divisions, the first two destined to take a leading part in the St. Mihiel attack, were all due to be withdrawn and started for the Meuse-Argonne by the fourth day of the battle.

The salient had been held by the Germans since September, 1914. It covered the most sensitive section of the enemy's position on the western front, namely, the Mezieres-Sedan-Metz railroad and the Briey Iron Basin; it threatened the entire region between Verdun and Nancy, and interrupted the main rail line from Paris to the east. Its primary strength lay in the natural defensive features of the terrain itself. The western face of the salient extended

along the rugged, heavily wooded eastern heights of the Meuse; the southern face followed the heights of the Meuse for eight kilometers to the east and then crossed the plain of the Woivre, including within the German lines the detached heights of Loupmont and Montsec which dominated the plain and afforded the enemy unusual facilities for observation. The enemy had reenforced the positions by every artificial means during a period of four years.

On the night of September 11 the troops of the First Army were deployed in position. On the southern face of the salient was the 1st Corps, Major Gen. Liggett commanding, with the 82d, 19th, 5th and 2d Divisions in line, extending from the Moselle westward. On its left was the 4th Corps, Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman commanding, with the 89th, 42d and 1st Divisions, the left of this corps being opposite Montsec. These two army corps were to deliver the principal attack, the line pivoting on the centre division of the 1st Corps. The 1st Division, on the left of the 4th Corps, was charged with the double mission of covering its own flank while advancing some twenty kilometers due north toward the heart of the salient, where it was to make contact with the troops of the 5th Corps. On the western face of the salient lay the 5th Corps, Major Gen. Geo. H. Cameron commanding, with the 26th Division, 15th French Colonial Division and the 4th Division in line, from Mouilly west to Les Eparges and north to Watronville. Of these three divisions the 26th alone was to make a deep advance directed southeast toward Vigneulles. The French division was to make a short progression to the edge of the heights in order to cover the left of the 26th. The 4th Division was to make a deep advance directed southeast toward 5th Army Corps, was the 2d French Colonial Corps, Major Gen. E. J. Blondlat commanding, cover-

ing a front of forty kilometers with three small French divisions. These troops were to follow up the retirement of the enemy from the tip of the salient.

ADVANCE AT DAWN

The French independent air force was at my disposal, which, together with the British bombing squadrons and our own air forces, gave us the largest assemblage of aviation that had ever been engaged in one operation. Our heavy guns were able to reach Metz and to interfere seriously with German rail movements.

At dawn on September 12, after four hours of violent artillery fire of preparation, and accompanied by small tanks, the infantry of the 1st and 4th Corps advanced. The infantry of the 5th Corps commenced its advance at 8 A. M. The operation was carried out with the entire precision. Just after daylight on September 13 elements of the 1st and 26th Divisions made a junction near Hattonchatel and Vigneulles, eighteen kilometers northeast of St. Mihiel.

The rapidity with which our divisions advanced overwhelmed the enemy, and all objectives were reached by the afternoon of September 13. The enemy had apparently started to withdraw some of his troops from the tip of the salient on the eve of our attack, but had been unable to carry it through. We captured nearly 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns, and large stores of material and supplies. The energy and swiftness with which the operation was carried out enabled us to smother opposition to such an extent that we suffered less than 7,000 casualties during the actual period of the advance.

During the next two days the right of our line west of the Moselle River was advanced beyond the objectives laid down in the original orders. This

completed the operation for the time being and the line was stabilized to be held by the smallest practicable force.

RESULTS OF THE BATTLE

The material results of the victory achieved were very important. An American army was an accomplished fact, and the enemy had felt its power. No form of propaganda could overcome the depressing effect on the morale of the enemy of this demonstration of our ability to organize a large American force and drive it successfully through his defenses. It gave our troops implicit confidence in their superiority and raised their morale to the highest pitch. For the first time wire entanglements ceased to be regarded as impassable barriers and open-warfare training, which had been so urgently insisted upon, proved to be the correct doctrine. Our divisions concluded the attack with such small losses and in such high spirits that without the usual rest they were immediately available for employment in heavy fighting in a new theatre of operations. The strength of the First Army in this battle totaled approximately 500,000 men, of whom about 70,000 were French.

BATTLING TO BREAK HINDENBURG LINE

The definite decision for the Meuse-Argonne phase of the great allied convergent attack was agreed to in my conference with Marshal Foch and General Petain on September 2. It was planned to use all available forces of the First Army, including such divisions and troops as we might be able to withdraw from the St. Mihiel front. The army was to break through the enemy's successive fortified zones to include the Kriemhilde Stellung, or Hindenburg line, on the front Brioules-Romagne sous Montfaucon-Grand Pre, and thereafter, by developing pressure

toward Mezieres, was to insure the fall of the Hindenburg line along the Aisne River in front of the Fourth French Army, which was to attack to the west of the Argonne Forest. A penetration of some twelve to fifteen kilometers was required to reach the Hindenburg line on our front, and the enemy's defenses were virtually continuous throughout that depth.

The Meuse-Argonne front had been practically stabilized in September, 1914, and, except for minor fluctuations during the German attacks on Verdun in 1916 and the French counteroffensive in August, 1917, remained unchanged until the American advance in 1918. The net result of the four years' struggle on this ground was a German defensive system of unusual depth and strength and a wide zone of utter devastation, itself a serious obstacle to offensive operations.

The strategical importance of this portion of the line was second to none on the western front. All supplies and evacuations of the German armies in Northern France were dependent upon two great railway systems—one in the north, passing through Liege, the other in the south, with lines coming from Luxemburg, Thionville, and Metz, had as its vital section the line Carignan-Sedan-Mezieres. No other important lines were available to the enemy, as the mountainous masses of the Ardennes made the construction of east and west lines through that region impracticable. The Carignan-Sedan-Mezieres line was essential to the Germans for the rapid strategical movement of troops. Should this southern system be cut by the Allies before the enemy could withdraw his forces through the narrow neck between Mezieres and the Dutch frontier, the ruin of his armies in France and Belgium would be complete.

From the Meuse-Argonne front the perpendicular

distance to the Carignan-Mezieres railroad was 50 kilometers. This region formed the pivot of German operations in Northern France, and the vital necessity of covering the great railroad line into Sedan resulted in the convergence on the Meuse-Argonne front of the successive German defensive positions. The effect of this convergence can be best understood by reference to the map. It will be seen, for example, that the distance between No Man's Land and the third German withdrawal position in the vicinity of the Meuse River was approximately 18 kilometers; the distance between the corresponding points near the tip of the great salient of the western front was about 65 kilometers, and in the vicinity of Cambrai was over 30 kilometers. The effect of a penetration of 18 kilometers by the American Army would be equivalent to an advance of 65 kilometers further west; furthermore, such an advance on our front was far more dangerous to the enemy than an advance elsewhere. The vital importance of this portion of his position was fully appreciated by the enemy, who had suffered tremendous losses in 1916 in attempting to improve it by the reduction of Verdun. As a consequence it had been elaborately fortified, and consisted of practically a continuous series of positions 20 kilometers or more in depth.

In addition to the artificial defenses, the enemy was greatly aided by the natural features of the terrain. East of the Meuse the dominating heights not only protected his left, but gave him positions from which powerful artillery could deliver an oblique fire on the western bank. Batteries located in the elaborately fortified Argonne Forest covered his right flank, and could cross their fire with that of the guns on the east bank of the Meuse. Midway between the Meuse and the forest the heights of Montfaucon offered observation and formed a strong natural position which

had been heavily fortified. The east and west ridges abutting on the Meuse and Air River valleys afforded the enemy excellent machine-gun positions for the desperate defense which the importance of the position would require him to make. North of Montfaucon densely wooded and rugged heights constituted natural features favorable to defensive fighting.

When the First Army became engaged in the simultaneous preparation for two major operations an interval of fourteen days separated the initiation of the two attacks. During this short period the movement of the immense number of troops and the amount of supplies, and confined entirely to the hours of darkness, was one of the most delicate and difficult problems of war. The concentration included fifteen divisions, of which seven were involved in the pending St. Mihiel drive, three were in sector in the Vosges, three in the neighborhood of Soissons, one in a training area and one near Bar-le-Duc. Practically all the artillery, aviation and other auxiliaries to be employed in the new operations were committed to the St. Mihiel attack and, therefore, could not be moved until its success was assured. The concentration of all units not to be used at St. Mihiel was commenced immediately, and on September 13, the second day of St. Mihiel, reserve divisions and artillery units were withdrawn and placed in motion toward the Argonne front.

MOVING TOWARD ARGONNE FOREST

That part of the American sector from Fresnes-en-Woevre, southeast of Verdun, to the western edge of the Argonne Forest, while nominally under my control, did not actively become a part of my command until September 22, on which date my headquarters were established at Souilly, southwest of Verdun.

Of French troops, in addition to the 2d French Colonial Corps, composed of three divisions, there was also the 17th French Corps of three divisions holding the front north and east of Verdun.

At the moment of the opening of the Meuse-Argonne battle the enemy had ten divisions in line and ten in reserve on the front between Fresnes-en-Woevre and the Argonne Forest, inclusive. He had undoubtedly expected a continuation of our advance toward Metz. Successful ruses were carried out between the Meuse River and Luneville to deceive him as to our intentions, and French troops were maintained as a screen along our front until the night before the battle, so that the actual attack was a tactical surprise.

The operations in the Meuse-Argonne battle really form a continuous whole, but they extended over such a long period of continuous fighting that they will here be considered in three phases, the first from September 26 to October 3, the second from October 4 to 31, and the third from November 1 to 11.

FIRST FIGHTING IN ARGONNE

On the night of September 25 the nine divisions to lead in the attack were deployed between the Meuse River and the western edge of the Argonne Forest. On the right was the 3d Corps, Major Gen. Bullard commanding, with the 33d, 80th and 4th Divisions in line; next came the 5th Corps, Major Gen. Cameron commanding, with the 79th, 37th and 91st Divisions; on the left was the 1st Corps, Major Gen. Liggett commanding, with the 35th, 28th and 77th Divisions. Each corps had one division in reserve and the army held three divisions as a general reserve. - About 2,700 guns, 189 small tanks, 142 manned by Americans, and 821 airplanes, 604 manned by Americans, were concentrated to support the attack of the in-

fantry. We thus had a superiority in guns and aviation, and the enemy had no tanks.

The axis of the attack was the line Montfaucon-Bomagne-Buzancy, the purpose being to make the deepest penetration in the centre, which, with the Fourth French Army advancing west of the Argonne, would force the enemy to evacuate that forest without our having to deliver a heavy attack in that difficult region.

Following three hours of violent artillery fire of preparation, the infantry advanced at 5:30 A. M. on September 26, accompanied by tanks. During the first two days of the attack, before the enemy was able to bring up his reserves, our troops made steady progress through the network of defenses. Montfaucon was held tenaciously by the enemy and was not captured until noon of the second day.

By the evening of the 28th a maximum advance of eleven kilometers had been achieved and we had captured Baulny, Epinonville, Septsarges, and Dannevoux. The right had made a splendid advance into the woods south of Brioules-sur-Meuse, but the extreme left was meeting strong resistance in the Argonne. The attack continued without interruption, meeting six new divisions which the enemy threw into the first line before September 29. He developed a powerful machine-gun defense supported by heavy artillery fire, and made frequent counterattacks with fresh troops, particularly on the front of the 28th and 35th Divisions. These divisions had taken Varennes, Cheppy, Baulny, and Charpentry, and the line was within two kilometers of Apremont. We were no longer engaged in a manoeuvre for the pinching out of a salient, but were necessarily committed, generally speaking, to a direct frontal attack against strong, hostile positions fully manned by a determined enemy.

By nightfall of the 29th the First Army line was approximately Bois de la Cote Lemont-Nantillois-Apremont-southwest across the Argonne. Many divisions, especially those in the centre that were subjected to cross-fire of artillery, had suffered heavily. The severe fighting, the nature of the terrain over which they attacked, and the fog and darkness sorely tried even our best divisions. On the night of the 29th the 37th and 79th Divisions were relieved by the 32d and 3d Divisions, respectively, and on the following night the 1st Division relieved the 35th Division.

The critical problem during the first few days of the battle was the restoration of communications over No Man's Land. There were but four roads available across this deep zone, and the violent artillery fire of the previous period of the war had virtually destroyed them. The spongy soil and the lack of material increased the difficulty. But the splendid work of our engineers and pioneers soon made possible the movement of the troops, artillery, and supplies most needed. By the afternoon of the 27th all the divisional artillery except a few batteries of heavy guns had effected a passage and was supporting the infantry action.

SECOND PHASE OF BATTLE

At 5:30 A. M. on October 4 the general attack was renewed. The enemy divisions on the front from Fresnes-en-Woerve to the Argonne had increased from ten in the first line to sixteen, and included some of his best divisions. The fighting was desperate, and only small advances were realized, except by the 1st Division, on the right of the 1st Corps. By evening of October 5 the line was approximately Bois de la Cote Lemont-Bois du Fays-Gesnes-Hill 240-Fleville-Chehery-southwest through the Argonne.

It was especially desirable to drive the enemy from his commanding positions on the heights east of the Meuse, but it was even more important that we should force him to use his troops there and weaken his tenacious hold on positions in our immediate front. The further stabilization of the new St. Mihiel line permitted the withdrawal of certain divisions for the extension of the Meuse-Argonne operation to the east bank of the Meuse River.

On the 7th the 1st Corps, with the 82d Division added, launched a strong attack northwest toward Cornay, to draw attention from the movement east of the Meuse and at the same time outflank the German position in the Argonne. The following day the 17th French Corps, Major Gen. Claudel commanding, initiated its attack east of the Meuse against the exact point on which the German armies must pivot in order to withdraw from Northern France. The troops encountered elaborate fortifications and stubborn resistance, but by nightfall had realized an advance of six kilometers to a line well within the Bois de Consenvoye, and including the villages of Beaumont and Haumont. Continuous fighting was maintained along our entire battlefield, with especial success on the extreme left, where the capture of the greater part of the Argonne Forest was completed. The enemy contested every foot of ground on our front in order to make more rapid retirement further west and withdraw his forces from Northern France before the interruption of his railroad communications through Sedan.

REPLACEMENTS INSUFFICIENT

We were confronted at this time by an insufficiency of replacements to build up exhausted divisions. Early in October combat units required some 90,000 replacements, and not more than 45,000 would be

available before November 1 to fill the existing and prospective vacancies. We still had two divisions with the British and two with the French. A review of the situation, American and allied, especially as to our own resources in men for the next two months, convinced me that the attack of the First Army and of the allied armies further west should be pushed to the limit. But if the First Army was to continue its aggressive tactics our divisions then with the French must be recalled, and replacements must be obtained by breaking up newly arrived divisions.

In discussing the withdrawal of our divisions from the French with Marshal Foch and General Petain on October 10 the former expressed his appreciation of the fact that the First Army was striking the pivot of the German withdrawal, and also held the view that the allied attack should continue. General Petain agreed that the American divisions with the French were essential to us if we were to maintain our battle against the German pivot. The French were, however, straining every nerve to keep up their attacks and, before those divisions with the French had been released, it became necessary for us to send the 37th and 91st Divisions from the First Army to assist the Sixth French Army in Flanders.

OVER ONE MILLION AMERICANS IN BATTLE

At this time the First Army was holding a front of more than 120 kilometers; its strength exceeded 1,000,000 men; it was engaged in the most desperate battle of our history, and the burden of command was too heavy for a single commander and staff. Therefore, on October 12, that portion of our front extending from Port-sur-Seille, east of the Moselle, to Fresnes-en-Woevre, southeast of Verdun, was transferred to the newly constituted Second Army, with Lieut. Gen. Robert L. Bullard in command, un-

der whom it began preparations for the extension of operations to the east in the direction of Briey and Metz. On October 16 the command of the First Army was transferred to Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett, and my advance headquarters was established at Ligny-en-Barrois, from which the command of the group of American armies was exercised.

HINDENBURG LINE BROKEN

Local attacks of the First Army were continued in order particularly to adjust positions preparatory to a renewed general assault. The 1st and 5th Divisions, which were now fresh. An attack along the whole front was made on October 11. The resistance encountered was stubborn, but the stronghold on Cote Dame Marie was captured and the Hindenburg line was broken. Cunel and Romagne-sous-Montfacon were taken and the line advanced two kilometers north of Sommerance. A maximum advance of seventeen kilometers had been made since September 26 and the enemy had been forced to throw into the fight a total of fifteen reserve divisions.

During the remainder of the month important local operations were carried out, which involved desperate fighting. The 1st Corps, Major Gen. Dickman commanding, advanced through Grand Pre; the 5th Corps, Major Gen. Charles P. Sommerall commanding, captured the Bois de Bantheville; the 3d Corps, Major Gen. John L. Hines commanding, completed the occupation of Cunel Heights, and the 17th French Corps drove the enemy from the main ridge south of La Grande Montagne. Particularly heavy fighting occurred east of the Meuse on October 18, and in the further penetration of the Kriemhilde-Stellung on October 23 the 26th Division, entering

the battle at this time, relieved the 18th French Division.

THE RESULTS

Summarizing the material results which had been attained by the First Army by the end of October, we had met an increasing number of Germany's best divisions, rising from twenty in line and reserve on September 26, to thirty-one on October 31; the enemy's elaborately prepared positions, including the Hindenburg line, in our front had been broken; the almost impassable Argonne Forest was in our hands; an advance of twenty-one kilometers had been effected; 18,600 prisoners, 370 cannon, 1,000 machine guns, and a mass of material captured, and the great railway artery through Carignan to Sedan was now seriously threatened.

The demands of incessant battle which had been maintained day by day for more than a month had compelled our divisions to fight to the limit of their capacity. Combat troops were held in line and pushed to the attack until deemed incapable of further effort because of casualties or exhaustion; artillery once engaged was seldom withdrawn, and many batteries fought until practically all the animals were casualties and the guns were towed out of line by motor trucks.

The American soldier had shown unrivaled fortitude in this continuous fighting during most inclement weather and under many disadvantages of position. Through experience, the army had developed into a powerful and smooth-running machine, and there was a supreme confidence in our ability to carry through the task successfully.

While the high pressure of these dogged attacks was a great strain on our troops, it was calamitous to the enemy. His divisions had been thrown into con-

fusion by our furious assaults, and his morale had been reduced until his will to resist had well-nigh reached the breaking point. Once a German division was engaged in the fight, it became practically impossible to effect its relief. The enemy was forced to meet the constantly recurring crisis by breaking up tactical organizations and sending hurried detachments to widely separated portions of the field.

Every member of the American Expeditionary Forces, from the front line to the base ports, was straining every nerve. Magnificent efforts were exerted by the entire Service of Supply to meet the enormous demands made on it. Obstacles which seemed insurmountable were overcome daily in expediting the movements of replacements, ammunition and supplies to the front, and of sick and wounded to the rear. It was this spirit of determination animating every American soldier that made it possible for the enemy to maintain the struggle until 1919.

THIRD PHASE

The detailed plans for the operations of the allied armies on the western front changed from time to time during the course of this great battle, but the mission of the First American Army to cut the great Carignan-Sedan-Mezieres railroad remained unchanged. Marshal Foch co-ordinated the operations along the entire front, continuing persistently and unceasingly the attacks by all allied armies; the Belgian Army, with a French army and two American divisions, advancing eastward; the British armies and two American divisions, with the First French Army on their right, toward the region north of Givet; the First American Army and Fourth French Army toward Sedan and Mezieres.

On the 21st my instructions were issued to start

the First Army to prepare thoroughly for a general attack on October 28 that would be decisive, if possible. In order that the attack of the First Army and that of the Fourth French Army on its left should be simultaneous, our attack was delayed until November 1. The immediate purpose of the First Army was to take Buzancy and the heights of Barricourt, to turn the forest north of Grand Pre, and to establish contact with the Fourth French Army near Boulton-aux-Bois. The army was directed to carry the heights of Barricourt by nightfall of the first day and then to exploit this success by advancing its left to Boulton-aux-Bois in preparation for the drive toward Sedan. By strenuous effort all available artillery had been moved well forward to the heights previously occupied by the enemy, from which it could fully cover and support the initial advance of the infantry.

On this occasion, and for the first time, the army prepared for its attack under normal conditions. We held the front of the attack, and were not under the necessity of taking over a new front, with its manifold installations and service. Our own personnel handled the communications, dumps, telegraph lines, and water service; our divisions were either on the line or close in the rear; the French artillery, aviation, and technical troops, which had previously made up our deficiencies, had been largely replaced by our own organizations, and now our army, corps, and divisional staffs were by actual experience second to none.

FOE'S LAST DEFENSE

On the morning of November 1 three army corps were in line between the Meuse River and the Bois de Bourgogne. On the right of the 3d Corps had the 5th and 90th Divisions; the 5th Corps occupied the

centre of the line, with the 89th and 2d Divisions, and was to be the wedge of the attack on the first day, and on the left the 1st Corps deployed the 80th, 77th, and 78th Divisions.

Preceded by two hours of violent artillery preparation, the infantry advanced, closely followed by "accompanying guns." The artillery acquitted itself magnificently, the barrages being so well co-ordinated and so dense that the enemy was overwhelmed and quickly submerged by the rapid onslaught of the infantry. By nightfall the 5th Corps, in the centre, had realized an advance of almost nine kilometers, to the Bois de la Folie, and had completed the capture of the Heights of Barricourt, while the 3d Corps, on the right, had captured Aincreville and Andevanne. Our troops had broken through the enemy's last defense, captured his artillery positions, and had precipitated a retreat of the German forces about to be isolated in the forest north of Grand Pre. On the 2d and 3d we advanced rapidly against heavy fighting on the front of the right and centre corps; to the left the troops of the 1st Corps hurried forward to pursuit, some by motor trucks, while the artillery pressed along the country roads close behind. Our heavy artillery was skillfully brought into position to fire upon the Carignan-Sedan railroad and the junctions at Longuyon and Conflans. By the evening of the 4th our troops had reached La Neuville, opposite Stenay, and had swept through the great Forest de Dieulet, reaching the outskirts of Beaumont, while on the left we were eight kilometers north of Boultaux-Bois.

The following day the advance continued toward Sedan with increasing swiftness. The 3d Corps, turning eastward, crossed the Meuse in a brilliant operation by the 5th Division, driving the enemy from the heights of Dun-sur-Meuse and forcing a

general withdrawal from the strong positions he had so long held on the hills north of Verdun.

APPEALS FOR ARMISTICE

By the 7th the right of the 3d Corps had exploited its river crossing to a distance of ten kilometers east of the Meuse, completely ejecting the enemy from the wooded heights and driving him out into the swampy plain of the Woevre; the 5th and 1st Corps had reached the line of the Meuse River along their respective fronts and the left of the latter corps held the heights dominating Sedan, the strategical goal of the Meuse-Argonne operation, forty-one kilometers from our point of departure on November 1. We had cut the enemy's main line of communications. Recognizing that nothing but a cessation of hostilities could save his armies from complete disaster, he appealed for an immediate armistice on November 6.

Meanwhile general plans had been prepared for the further employment of American forces in an advance between the Meuse and the Moselle, to be directed toward Longwy by the First Army, while the Second Army was to assume the offensive toward the Briey Iron Basin. Orders directing the preparatory local operations involved in this enterprise were issued on November 5.

Between the 7th and 10th of November the 3d Corps continued its advance eastward to Remoiville, while the 17th French Corps, on its right, with the 79th, 26th, and 81st American Divisions, and two French divisions, drove the enemy from his final foothold on the heights east of the Meuse. At 9 P. M. on November 9 appropriate orders were sent to the First and Second Armies in accordance with the following telegram from Marshal Foch to the commander of each of the allied armies.

"The enemy, disorganized by our repeated attacks, retreats along the entire front.

"It is important to co-ordinate and expedite our movements.

"I appeal to the energy and the initiative of the Commanders in Chief of their armies to make decisive the results obtained."

NOVEMBER 11, 1918

In consequence of the foregoing instructions our Second Army pressed the enemy along its entire front. On the night of the 10th-11th and the morning of the 11th and 5th Corps, in the First Army, forced a crossing of the Meuse east of Beaumont and gained the commanding heights within the reentrant of the river, thus completing our control of the Meuse River line. At 6 A. M. on the 11th notification was received from Marshal Foch's headquarters that the armistice had been signed and that hostilities would cease at 11 A. M. Preparatory measures had already been taken to insure the prompt transmission to the troops of the announcement of an armistice. However, the advance east of Beaumont on the morning of the 11th had been so rapid and communication across the river was so difficult that there was some fighting on isolated portions of that front after 11 A. M.

GREAT ODDS OVERCOME

Between Sept. 26 and Nov. 11, twenty-two American and four French divisions, on the front extending from southeast of Verdun to the Argonne Forest, had engaged and decisively beaten forty-seven different German divisions, representing 25 per cent. of the enemy's entire divisional strength on the western front. Of these enemy divisions, twenty had been drawn from the French front and one from the Brit-

ish front. Of the twenty-two American divisions, twelve had at different times during this period, been engaged on fronts other than our own. The First Army suffered a loss of about 117,000 in killed and wounded. It captured 26,000 prisoners, 847 cannon, 3,000 machine guns, and large quantities of material.

The dispositions which the enemy made to meet the Meuse-Argonne offensive, both immediately before the opening of the attack and during the battle, demonstrated the importance which he ascribed to this section of the front and the extreme measures he was forced to take in its defense. From the moment the American offensive began until the armistice his defense was desperate and the flow of his divisions to our front was continuous.

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